

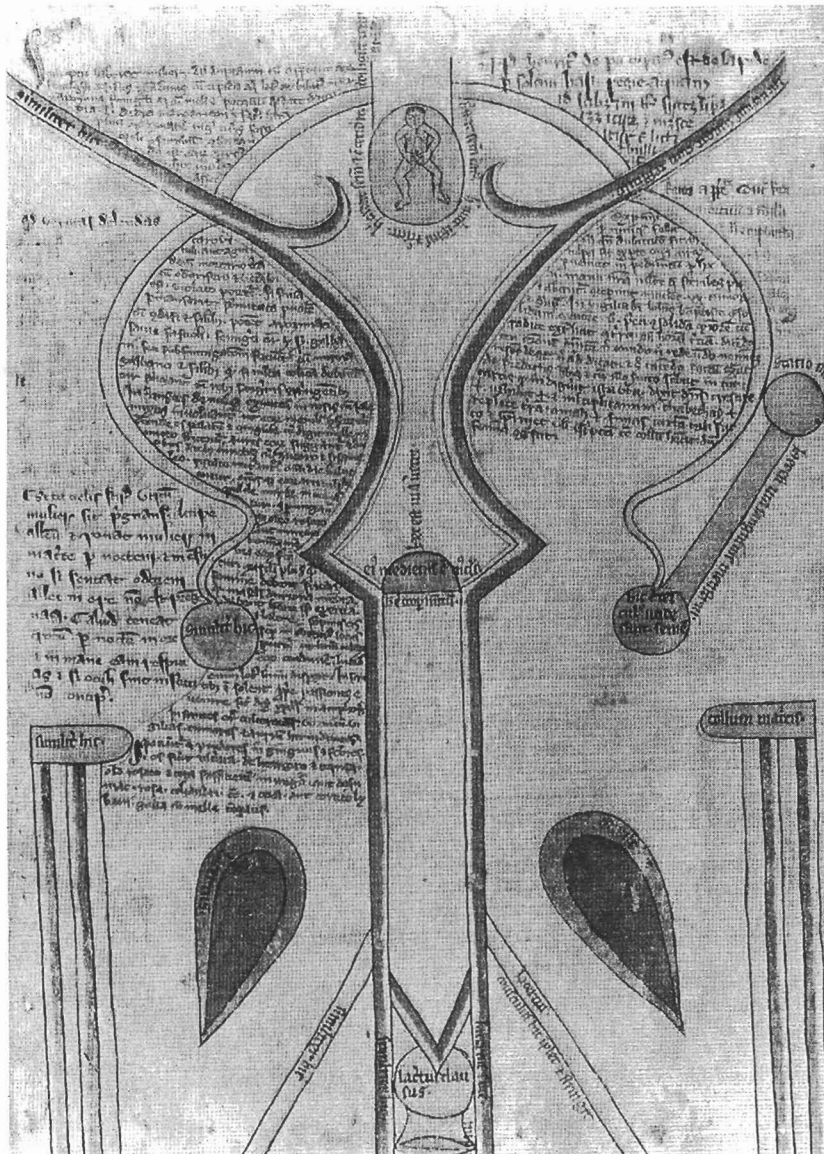
Monica H. Green

---

## Women's Healthcare in the Medieval West

---

Texts and Contexts



A diagram of the female reproductive organs from a late thirteenth-century English manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 399, f. 13v, reproduced with kind permission).

**Ashgate**  
VARIORUM

Aldershot · Burlington USA · Singapore · Sydney

Published in the Variorum Collected Studies Series by

Ashgate Publishing Limited  
Gower House, Croft Road,  
Aldershot, Hampshire GU11 3HR  
Great Britain

Ashgate Publishing Company  
131 Main Street,  
Burlington, Vermont 05401-5600  
USA

Ashgate website: <http://www.ashgate.com>

ISBN 0-86078-826-1

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Green, Monica H.

Women's Healthcare in the Medieval West: Texts and Contexts.

(Variorum Collected Studies Series: CS680).

1. Women's Health Services - Europe - History. 2. Gynecology - Europe - History.


3. Medicine, Medieval - Europe. 4. Medicine, Medieval in Literature.

I. Title.

610.8'2'094'0902

US Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Library of Congress Card number is preassigned as: 00-1044023

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences - Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984. ™

Printed by St Edmundsbury Press, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk

VARIORUM COLLECTED STUDIES SERIES CS680

## CONTENTS

Introduction	vii
Corrigenda et Addenda	xvii
HISTORICAL QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGIES	
I Women's Medical Practice and Health Care in Medieval Europe <i>Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages, ed. J. Bennett et al. Chicago, 1989</i>	39-78
II Documenting Medieval Women's Medical Practice <i>Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death, ed. Luis García-Ballester et al. Cambridge, UK, 1994</i>	322-352
IDENTIFYING THE TEXTS	
III The <i>De genecia</i> Attributed to Constantine the African <i>Speculum 62. Cambridge, MA, 1987</i>	299-323
IV Obstetrical and Gynecological Texts in Middle English <i>Studies in the Age of Chaucer 14. New Brunswick, 1992</i>	53-88
V The Development of the <i>Trotula</i> <i>Revue d'Histoire des Textes 26. Paris, 1996</i>	119-203
EXPLORING THE CONTEXTS	
VI 'Traittié tout de mençonges': The <i>Secrés des dames</i> , 'Trotula,' and Attitudes Towards Women's Medicine in Fourteenth- and Early Fifteenth-Century France <i>Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference, ed. Marilyn Desmond. Minneapolis, 1998</i>	146-178 (1-4)

- VII The Possibilities of Literacy and the Limits of Reading:  
Women and the Gendering of Medical Literacy 1-76  
*First publication*

## APPENDIX

- Medieval Gynecological Literature: A Handlist 1-36  
*First publication*

## INDICES

- Index of Manuscripts Cited 1-8  
General Index 9-24

This volume contains xx + 388 pages

***Publisher's Note:*** The articles in this volume, as in all others in the *Collected Studies Series*, have not been given a new, continuous pagination. In order to avoid confusion, and to facilitate their use where these same studies have been referred to elsewhere, the original pagination has been maintained wherever possible.

Each article has been given a Roman numeral in order of appearance, as listed in the Contents. This number is repeated on each page and quoted in the index entries

# MEDIEVAL GYNECOLOGICAL TEXTS: A HANDLIST

This is a list of all gynecological texts currently known to me from western Europe written between the 4th and 15th centuries. It includes gynecological excerpts from larger texts when they circulated independently. It also includes all vernacular gynecological texts, including those in Arabic (from Muslim Spain) and Hebrew.<sup>1</sup> Omitted from the definition "gynecology" are texts that treat generation more generally (such as the pseudo-Galenic *De spermate*) and works on male sexuality (such as Constantine the African's *De coitu*).<sup>2</sup> I have also omitted the natural philosophical text pseudo-Albertus Magnus, *Secreta mulierum*, and all its vernacular translations.<sup>3</sup> Finally, cos-

---

<sup>1</sup> Barkai (1998), pp. 4-5, lists a total of 16 individual Jewish gynecological texts. I have included here only the 12 Hebrew or Judeo-Arabic texts for which he actually provides specific information. (Omitted here are *Sitrei nashim*, "Secrets of Women"; *Sha`ar be-sibat `aqrut ha-nashim*, "Chapter on the Cause of Women's Sterility"; *Trufot le-'ishah she-tikanes le-herayon*, "Medicaments for the Woman to Help her get Pregnant"; *Sha`ar ha-nashim*, "Women's Chapter").

<sup>2</sup> See the recent studies of Päivi Pahta, *Medieval Embryology in the Vernacular: The Case of 'De spermate'*, Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki, LIII (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 1998); and Enrique Montero Cartelle, ed., *Constantini Liber de coitu: El tratado de andrologia de Constantino el Africano. Estudio y edicion critica*, Monografias de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 77 (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1983), and *Liber minor de coitu: Tratado menor de andrologia anonimo salernitano. Edicion critica, traduccion y notas* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1987).

<sup>3</sup> On the importance of distinguishing the *Secreta mulierum* from gynecological texts, see Essay VI in this collection. It should be noted, however, that several of the vernacular

metic literature is included here only in so far as it derives from the Salernitan *Trotula* tradition or is intimately associated with gynecological material.<sup>4</sup>

This list is meant as a finding aid rather than a comprehensive bibliography; readers should refer to the works cited for full references and additional bibliography. Texts are identified by author's name, if known, and by the title under which they circulated or have been described in modern scholarship. Where no title is documented, the *incipit* is used as a title. A question mark (?) after an author's name indicates that the attribution is not certain. The text descriptions have been kept to a bare minimum, highlighting only a few distinctive features. The *incipits* [Inc.] are included for each text to aid in the future identification of other copies.<sup>5</sup> For each text I cite the edition [Ed.] where one exists.<sup>6</sup> Where the edition includes a translation into a modern language, that, too, is noted. Where there is no edition or where more recent scholarship adds considerably to our knowledge of the text, I have cited the most recent scholarly literature [Lit.]. The listings of manuscripts [MSS] are intended to supplement rather than duplicate earlier listings; where I list an edition and/or literature *and* manuscripts, it should be understood that the latter are copies neither identified by the text's editor nor included in any previous list. An asterisk (\*) preceding a manuscript shelfmark indicates that I have *not* personally examined either the manuscript or a photographic reproduction but have drawn the citation from a catalog or other published source. In some of the latter instances, I have not been able to provide full information on foliation or date of the manuscript.

Anonymous texts are alphabetized under their title. In alphabetizing I have ignored the initial Latin particle *de* and its vernacular equivalents; initial definite and indefinite articles are likewise ignored.

translations of the *Secreta mulierum* incorporate additional obstetrical material addressed (purportedly) to midwives. These manuscripts are in many cases (at least in the French tradition) owned by surgeons, confirming that the text has crossed the boundary from natural philosophy into medicine.

<sup>4</sup> For more detailed information on cosmetic literature, see Montserrat Cabré i Pairet, "La cura del cos femení i la medicina medieval de tradició llatina," Ph.D. dissertation, Universitat de Barcelona, 1994, available on microfiche from Universitat de Barcelona, Col.lecció de Tesis Doctorals Microfiteixades, núm. 2794; and Table 2 in Essay VII of this volume.

<sup>5</sup> For Hebrew texts, I give the incipits in English. I have not included the incipits for the Middle English tracts here, since these are included in Essay IV in this volume; the exception is *Trotula* Eng4, of which a new ms was found after 1992. Regarding on-going projects to identify medieval medical and scientific texts, see n. 4 of the Introduction to this volume.

<sup>6</sup> Since my concern here is with the circulation of these texts in manuscript, I have not included references to Renaissance editions.

I employ the following abbreviations for frequently cited works:

- Barkaï (1998) Ron Barkaï, *A History of Jewish Gynaecological Texts in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 1998)
- Egert (1936) Ferdinand Paul Egert, *Gynäkologische Fragmente aus dem frühen Mittelalter nach einer Petersburger Handschrift aus dem VIII.-IX. Jahrhundert*, Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften, Heft 11 (Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1936)
- Green (1992) Monica H. Green, "Obstetrical and Gynecological Texts in Middle English," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 14 (1992), 53-88 (Essay IV in this volume)
- Green (1997) "A Handlist of the Latin and Vernacular Manuscripts of the So-Called *Trotula* Texts. Part II: The Vernacular Translations and Latin Re-Writings," *Scriptorium* 51 (1997), 80-104
- Hanson & Green (1994) Ann Ellis Hanson and Monica H. Green, "Soranus of Ephesus: *Methodicorum princeps*," in Wolfgang Haase and Hildegard Temporini, general editors, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, Teilband II, Band 37.2 (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), pp. 968-1075
- HMML Hill Monastic Manuscript Library (a repository of microfilms from European religious houses and libraries), St John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota
- Jansen-Sieben (1989) Ria Jansen-Sieben, *Repertorium van de Middelnederlandse Artes-Literatuur* (Utrecht: H & S Hes Uitgevers, 1989)
- Kruse (1996) Britta-Juliane Kruse, *Verborgene Heilkünste: Geschichte der Frauenmedizin im Spätmittelalter*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte, 5 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996)
- Pesenti (1984) Tiziana Pesenti, *Professori e promotori di medicina nello studio di Padova dal 1405 al 1509: Repertorio bio-bibliografico* (Padua: Lint, 1984)
- T-K<sup>2</sup> Lynn Thorndike and Pearl Kibre, *Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1963)

*Ad offocatione[m] uel stranguria[m] mulieris quod greci ceronmilon vocant* - an extended treatment of a wide variety of uterine dislocations; has numerous passages in common with the Hippocratic *De diversis causis* (q.v.)

Inc.: Hec sunt divisiones in passione quamvis in uno tenore sint scripte. Una est ex respiratione toracis; alia est in inferiore parte mulieris. Que in torace est curabilis sicut in offocatione uirorum dictum est. Signa uero offocationis que in stera est uel in matrice sic intelliges . . .

MS: Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana, MS 287 (*olim* H.31.7.4; G.2.8.2), s. xiii<sup>1</sup> (Italy?), ff. 146r-150r

Alessandro Sermoneta (d. post 1492), *Consilium ne mulier abortiat*  
 Inc.: Voluisti, Sixte mi Alamane, ut quibus possum presidiis . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 1711)  
 Lit.: Pesenti (1984), p. 201

*Van alle gebreken der vrouwen* - a Dutch treatise on gynecology

Inc.: Inden eersten wye gebreck heeft in die moeder . . .  
 MS: Osnabrück, private collection, ff. 40a-?? (see Jansen-Sieben 1989, p. 439)

*De anatomia matricis*

Inc.: Matrix constat ex quatuor tunicis. Una vero est . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 852)  
 MS: \*London, British Library, MS Egerton 2852, s. xiv, ff. 112r-114r

Anthonius Guainerius (d. 1440), *De matrice* - intended to become part of

Guainerius's planned *Summa*, the text is divided into 37 chapters and opens with a dedicatory preface to Filippo Maria, the Duke of Milan

Inc. (pref.): Nihil est magnamine princeps ut rem statim aggrediar, quod mortalibus nobis felicius contingere possit immortalitate . . . ; (text): Tractatus huius intentio est tam ex parte viri quam ex parte mulieris conceptionem causas impediens curandi doctrinam dare . . . ; (cap. 1): Matrix est membrum a natura pro conceptione deputatum inter vesicam et intestina . . .

MSS: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS fol. lat. 648, s. xv

\*Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1<sup>er</sup>, MS 3162-64, an. 1469-70 (Ferrara)

\*-----, MS 3204-18, an. 1469, ff. 105r-139v

\*Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1178, s. xv

\*-----, MS 1208, s. xv

\*London, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, MS 557, s. xv med. (S. Germany?), ff. 46ra-84vb

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS A 108 inf., an. 1474 (probably Ferrara), ff. 182ra-217rb

\*Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 205, ca. 1442, ff. 61r-95r

\*Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Fondo Principale, MS VIII D 32, s. xv, ff. 309r-330v

\*Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Misc. 29, s. xv, ff. 1r-113r

\*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 6981, s. xv

\*San Candido-Innichen, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS VIII C 2, an. 1461 (Ferrara), ff. 226r-262r

\*Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS 1200 (H.II.16), an. 1452, ff. 78r-100v

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 1098, an. 1464 (Padua), ff. 234ra-275rb

\*-----, MS Pal. lat. 1194, s. xv med. (Padua?), ff. 123ra-143vb

\*-----, MS Pal. lat. 1195, an. 1474 (Heidelberg), ff. 77ra-105va

\*-----, MS Vat. lat. 3163, s. xv, ff. 1r-80v

\*Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS VII.47 (*olim* Valentinelli cat. XIV, 27), an. 1468, ff. 187r-210r

\*Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 5269, s. xv, ff. 82vb-83rb (excerpt)

\*Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. ch. f. 123, s. xv, ff. 54r-79r

\*Zittau, Stadtbibliothek, MS A 6, s. xv, ff. 155r-182r

Antonio da Scarperia (1350/52-1433), *Consilium ad concipiendum*

MS: \*Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2500 [S.III.49], s. xv, ff. 71v

`Arib ibn Sa`id, *Kitab khalq al-janin wa-tadbir al-habala wa-l-mawludin*  
 ("The Book on Generation of the Fetus and the Treatment of Pregnant Women and Newborns") - written in Spain in the 10th cent.; later translated into Hebrew (see *Sefer yesirat*)

Eds./Trans.: `Arib ibn Sa`id, *Le Livre de la génération du foetus et le traitement des femmes enceintes et des nouveau-nés*, ed. & trans. Henri Jahier & Nourredine Abdelkader (Algiers: Librairie Ferraris, 1956), Arabic text with French translation; *El libro de la generación del feto, el tratamiento de las mujeres embarazadas y de los recién nacidos de `Arib ibn Sa`id (Tratado de ostetricia y pediatria hispano árabe del siglo X)*, ed. & trans. Antonio Arjona Castro (Cordoba: Publicaciones de la excma. diputacion provincial, 1983), Arabic text with Spanish translation

Aristotle (pseudo-), *Phisonomia Aristotelis abbreviata*

Inc.: Matrix est sicut olla decoquens . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 852)

MS: \*London, British Library, MS Additional 15236, s. xiii/xiv, ff. 160r-161v

-----, *Problemata* (German) - a brief series of questions and answers on female physiology, esp. menstruation

Inc.: Das aller groebest in der kost dz beleibt in dem magen und wirt in der natur durch dz gedaerm auß getryben von dem menschen . . .

Ed.: Kruse (1996), pp. 304-6

-----, *Problemata* (German) - a series of 91 questions and answers on sex differences, female physiology, etc.

Inc.: Item war umb unkeüschen die thirer. Darauf Antwort Aritotiles in dem andern püch der sel . . .

Ed.: Kruse (1996), pp. 348-69

Arnau de Vilanova (d. 1311) (?), *Compilatio de conceptione* - a brief tract examining the various reasons why conception does not occur

Inc.: Maris et femine commixtio causa est generationis naturalis cuiuslibet hominis: si ergo prohibeatur in aliquibus hominibus vel indiuiduis huiusmodi generatio . . .

MSS: \*Fritzlar, Dombibliothek, MS 99, ff. 129v-131v

\*Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 7576, s. xv, ff. 97va-b

\*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 6971, s. xv, ff. 69r-70v

\*-----, MS nouv. acq. lat. 3035, s. xv<sup>2</sup>, ff. 129v-131r

----- (?), *Complementum coitus*

Inc.: Complementum coitus est sanitas trium membrorum principalium . . .

MS: \*London, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, MS 78, s. xv ex., ff. 38v-40v

----- (?), *Consilium contra sterilitatem*

Inc.: Dispositio uxoris a suis maris per quam prohibetur . . .

MS: \*Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 2483, s. ?, ff. 51rb-vb

see also *De causa sterilitatis, Tractatus de sterilitate*

Avicenna (?), *Tractatus de mamillis secundum Avicennam et de dispocionibus mamille et primo de anathomia earum*

Inc.: Mamilla est membrum creatum ad generandum lac . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 846)

MSS: \*Basel, Öffentliche Universitätsbibliothek, MS D II 21, s. xiii, ff. 96ra-??

\*Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS C 59 sup. (an. 1436), ff. 82r-84r

Bartholomeus Metlinger, *Gebärmutterpraktik* - a short collection of remedies in German and Latin for comforting the womb written ca. 1470

Lit.: Gundolf Keil and Friedrich Lenhardt, "Metlinger, Bartholomeus," in Kurt Ruh (general editor), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1978- ), 6:460-67

Bartholomeus de Montagnana (d. ca. 1451), *Consilium ad fluxum materiarum albarum menstruosarum*, etc. - *consilia* (personalized diagnoses and therapies) on gynecological and obstetrical conditions, often included with *consilia* on other topics

Inc.: Non leve immo difficillimum existimo (existimam) per leue (plene) posse intelligi dispositionem huius honestissime domine que est quod ipsa patitur fluxum menstruarum albarum . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 921)

Lit.: Pesenti (1984), pp. 143-54

MSS: \*Graz, Zentralbibliothek der Wiener Franziskanerprovinz, Codex Fratrum Minorum Graecensis, s.n. (HMML project no. 7604), an. 1460, ff. 107r-128r

\*San Candido, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS VIII C 2, s. xv, ff. 263r-273r

*Beitexte zum Situsbild einer Schwangeren aus dem 'Fasciculus medicinae'* - a miscellaneous German collection of remedies, usually found with Johannes Hartlieb's (q.v.) German *Secreta mulierum* and *Trotula*, and German rendition of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* (q.v.)

Inc.: Das die prüst nit wachsen. Nym allein daß kraut daß do heist pappelen . . .

Ed.: Kruse (1996), pp. 339-48

Berengarius de Thumba (?), *Regimen patientium suffocationem matricis*

Inc.: Regimen patientium suffocationem matricis. Cura huius passionis est provocatio sanguinis menstrui . . .

MS: \*Basel, Öffentliche Universitätsbibliothek, MS D I 11, s. xiv<sup>2</sup>, f. 85vb

Bernard Chaussade, *Tractatus de conceptione et generatione praecipue filiorum* - a tract in two books on problems of fertility addressed to Anne de Beaujeau (1461-1522), sister of Charles VIII and Duchess of Bourbon

Inc. (pref.): Quamuis nostre medicine artis nonnulli doctorum in illa multum peritorum tibi ad contemplacionem tui nominis ac meritorum tuorum intuitu . . . ; (text): Sterilis et hoc sterile infructuosus uel infructuosa, idest non aptus vel apta gignere. et dicitur a stera . . .

MS: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 7064, an. 1488 (France), ff. 1r-82r

Bernard de Gordon (?), (fl. 1294-1308), *De impregnacione* (also known as *De sterilitate*) - attribution left in doubt by Demaitre (I have not yet seen the edition of Conde Parrado and Montero Cartelle)

Inc.: (Et) Quia causa sterilitatis (multis causis) accidit ideo ab ipsa inchoamus.

Temperamentum complexionis est causa fecunditatis . . . (cf. T-K<sup>2</sup> 1214, 1556)

Lit.: Luke E. Demaitre, *Doctor Bernard de Gordon: Professor and Practitioner* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies, 1980), pp. 181-82 and 194-95

Ed.: Pedro Conde Parrado and Enrique Montero Cartelle, eds., *Tractatus de conceptu; Tractatus de sterilitate mulierum* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1999)

---- (?), *Dix règles pour quoi l'on peut entendre pourquoi les femmes ont chacun mois leurs fleurs selon M. Bernard de Gourdon*

Inc.: Cy commence le secret des dames que peut entendre légèrement le gouvernement des fleurs des dames . . .

Lit.: Demaitre, *Bernard de Gordon*, p. 194

*Bien sachiés, femmes, de ce n'aiés dotaunce* (*Trotula* Fren3) - an Anglo-Norman verse rendition of the Salernitan *Liber de sinthomatibus*

*mulierum*, probably redacted from an earlier prose version (*Trotula* Fren2)

Inc.: Bien sachiés, femmes, de ce n'aiés dotaunce / Ci est escrit por uoir de lor science . . .

Ed.: Tony Hunt, *Anglo-Norman Medicine*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995-97), 2:76-107

*Boke mad [by] a woman named Rota* (*Trotula* Eng5) - a late 15th- or early 16th-cent. English translation of a few chapters from the *Trotula*

Lit.: Green (1992), pp. 69-71; and Green (1997), pp. 88-89, listing the 2 known mss

*Boke [that] is called Trotela* (*Trotula* Eng4) - a fairly literal Middle English rendering of the Salernitan *Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum*, with other material added; attributed in one copy to "Iohn of Burgwen"

Inc.: This boke is called Trotela the whilk Iohn of Burgwen drew owtt of dyuers bukes of phesik. (¶2) For as mykyll as woman ar mor febeler than men & in partes mor greved with dyuers sycknesses & dyssesses . . .

Lit.: Green (1997), pp. 87-88, listing the two known mss (supersedes description in Green, 1992, p. 72)

Caelius Aurelianus, *Gynaecia* - a late 4th or early 5th cent. translation/adaptation of Soranus's *Gynaikeia*, extant only in 1 fragment and 1 copy in which it is fused with Muscio's *Gynaecia* (q.v.)

Inc. (pref.): Quoniam specialia quedam nature officia feminarum corporibus videntur esse concessa . . . ; (text): Sit obstetrix litteris liberalibus erudita, ut possit lectione cuncta percipere que traduntur . . .

Ed.: Miriam and Israel Drabkin, *Caelius Aurelianus, Gynaecia: Fragments of a Latin Version of Soranus' Gynaecia from a Thirteenth cent. Manuscript* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1951)

Lit.: Hanson & Green (1994), *passim*, esp. pp. 1045-53 and 1072

*Das capitel sagt wie man die man vnd frauen zieren sol (Trotula Germ3)* - late medieval German translation of the Salernitan *De ornatu mulierum*, drawn from the revised or standardized version of the *Trotula* ensemble

**Inc.:** Das capitel sagt wie man die man vnd frauen zieren sol. Item am ersten wil ich schreiben von dem har wie man das machen sol lang . . .

**Lit.:** Green (1997), pp. 97-98

*Capitulum de preparatione mulierum ad conceptum*

**Inc.:** Si conceptus impediatur ex lubricitate matricis . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 1445)

**MS:** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 7066, s. xv (E. France), ff. 11v-12v

Cassius Felix, *De medicina* - an excerpt (cap. 77) of the gynecological material from Cassius's mid-5th-cent. text<sup>7</sup>

**Inc.:** Ad preopacionem matricis. Prefocacione matricis sequitur subitus casus, uocis amputacio [ut] obmutiscant, sensum perdunt . . .

**MS:** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 11218, s. ix in., ff. 108r-109r

*De causa sterilitatis* - although sometimes attributed to Arnau de Vilanova, Galen or Johannes Ketham, this apparently corresponds to cap. 43 of the *Liber aureus* (itself attributed alternately to Constantinus Africanus and Johannes Afflacijs) plus other material<sup>8</sup>

**Inc.:** Mulier concipere volens videat ne matrix . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 884)

**MSS:** \*Basel, Öffentliche Universitätsbibliothek, D III 6, s. xiii, f. 125r

\*Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, MS Amplonian F 236, s. xiv<sup>1</sup>, f. 65r-v

\*London, British Library, MS Sloane 345, s. xv, ff. 128r-130v

*De causa sterilitatis*

**Inc.:** Unde causa sterilitatis aliquando est in spermate viri . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 1597)

**MS:** \*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 6957 (an. 1429), f. 55r-v

*De causa sterilitatis parum*

**Inc.:** Origanum succum, anserinum stercus in pulverem redactus cottidie . . .

**MS:** \*Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, MS Amplonian F 288, s. xiii ex./xiv in., f. 44r-v

Cleopatra (pseudo-), *Gynaecia* - a late antique text in 43 chapters covering a variety of gynecological topics; pessaries are frequently employed, several

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Valentin Rose, ed., *Cassii Felicis De medicina ex Graecis logicae sectae auctoribus liber translatus sub Artabure et Calepio consulibus (anno 447)* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1879), pp. 187-89. All six of Cassius's gynecological chapters also appear in the mutilated Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 6882A.

<sup>8</sup> Enrique Montero Cartelle, *Tractatus de sterilitate: Anónimo de Montpellier (s. XIV). Attribuido a A. de Vilanova, R. de Moleris y J. de Turre*, *Lingüística y Filología*, no. 16 (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid and Caja Salamanca y Soria, 1993), pp. 40-41.

of which are named and described in detail; the preface (whose text is obviously corrupt) suggests that this work was addressed to her daughter by Theodote, who was *medica* to Cleopatra and her sister Arsenoe; cf.

*Liber geneiciae ad Soteris obs[er]etrix*

**Inc. (pref.):** Desideranti tibi filia carissima et habere uolenti commentarium curationis mulierum facere laboraui. et elegi preclarissimos libros duos theodoten. meothicum meum quem magno ac diligenti studio ex greco in latinum sermonem causas transtuli . . . ; (text): Signa de humorse matrice. Haec signa erunt: oculi eorum [!] dolebunt . . .

**MSS:** Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS 3701-15, s. ix, ff. 32r-33v

Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Gamle Kgl. Samling, MS 1653, s. xi (Beneventan, perhaps at Monte Cassino), ff. 28v-31v

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 73, cod. 1, s. ix/x (Italy), ff. 149vb-155ra

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 756 (Vict. 49), s. xv (excerpts)

\*Paris, Académie de Médecine, MS 469 (1348), s. xix copy of Florence, Bibl. Laur.-Med.

Plut. 73, cod. 1

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, MS Borghesiana 86, s. xii med., ff. 71r-73v

-----, MS Vat. lat. 6337, anno 1494 (Italy), ff. 40r-47v (apograph of Florence 73.1)

-----, *Gynaecia* (abbreviated version) - a shortened version of the fuller *Gynaecia Cleopatrae*; preceded in most mss by a list of 35 chapters; often circulates as the first of a three-part group with *De passionibus mulierum A* and *Non omnes quidem*

**Inc. (pref.):** Desideranti tibi filia karissima et habere uolenti commentarium curationis mulierum facere laboraui . . . ; (text): Oculorum dolor, caput sub calidum, uertigo occulta dolent. CURA. Adipem anserinum et butirum cum aniso trito . . .

**MSS:** Bethesda (Maryland), National Library of Medicine, MS 33 (518), s. xv, ff. 96va-99vb (rearranged, with new material added)

Cambridge, St John's College, cod. D.4 [James 79], s. xii<sup>1</sup> (Italy), ff. 171r-173r

-----, Trinity College, MS R.14.30 (James 903), s. xiii ex., ff. 211r-214r (with a fictitious preface, *Epistola quedam breuis ascari*)<sup>9</sup>

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Strozzi 88, s. xii (Italy), ff. 114r-117r

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 4234 (*olim* L 163), s. xiii, ff. 28v-31r

New York, New York Academy of Medicine, MS SAFE, s. xiii med. (France), ff. 85rb-86va

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1432, s. xv ex. (Italy), ff. 187v-188v

-----, MS e Musaeo 219 (SC 3541), s. xiv in. (England), ff. 87Av-87Dr

-----, MS Laud misc. 567, s. xii<sup>1</sup> (England), ff. 58v-60v

-----, Merton College, MS 324, s. xv<sup>1</sup> (England), ff. 94r-96v

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 7056, ca. 1240-1260 (England or N. France), ff. 86va-88rb

-----, MS nouv. acq. lat. 603, s. xiii<sup>1</sup> (Italy?), ff. 51rb-54ra

Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 1481 (*olim* V.2.8), s. xiii (Italy), ff. 14rb-17va

Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, MS C 662, s. xiv (France), ff. 45ra-46ra

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 5371, s. xii, ff. 20r-22r

<sup>9</sup> See Essay VII in this volume, p. 64.



Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 2504, s. xiii, ff. 48rb-49ra (through cap. 18)

Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. p. med. q. 2, s. xiii<sup>2</sup> (Germany), ff. 57va-62rb (with new material added)

-----, *Pessaria* - a collection of 20 different pessaries, some of which are named; portions of this text are found within the *Gynaecia Cleopatrae*

Inc.: Primum quemadmodum pessaria fiunt, uel quae uocentur aut quam rem prosint. Ergo differentiae eorum tales sunt. Prior est pessus qui dicitur scoleps, qui et triondon appellatur . . .

MSS: Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, cod. med. 2 (L.III.6), s. ix/x, ff. 5r-11r

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 73, cod. 1, s. ix/x, ff. 221ra-222rb

\*Paris, Académie de Médecine, MS 469 (1348), s. xix copy of Florence, Bibl. Laur.-Med. Plut. 73, cod. 1

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 6337, anno 1494, ff. 141v-143v (an apograph of the Florence ms)

Vendôme, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 175, s. xi ex. (S. France), ff. 99v-101r

*De conceptu* - the opening words correspond to ¶129 of the *Trotula* ensemble

Inc.: Conceptio impeditur tam vitio viri . . .

MS: \*Seville, Biblioteca Capitula Colombina, MS 5-1-45, f. 167v

Constantinus Africanus (d. ante 1098), *De genitalibus membris* - an independently circulating excerpt from Constantine's *Pantegni, Theorica*, Book III, capp. 33-36

Inc.: De genitalibus membris et primum de matrice. Matrix in forma sua est sicut uesica, cuius maxima est profunditas . . .

Ed.: Monica H. Green, "The *De genecia* Attributed to Constantine the African," *Speculum* 62 (1987), 299-323, at pp. 312-23 (Essay III in this volume)

-----, *Viaticum*, Book VI, gynecological excerpts

Inc.: Menstrua mulieribus ueniunt cum etatem .xiiii. annorum, sed si festinent in xii . . .

MSS: Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter 435 (V.5.5), s. xii/xiii (France?), f. 132v

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 7029, s. xi ex. (Italy), ff. 66r-68v

*Contra fluxum menstruorum*

Inc.: Contra fluxum menstruorum ualet acacia . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 261)

MS: \*Basel, Öffentliche Universitätsbibliothek, D II 21, s. xiii/xiv, ff. 1ra-3rb

*Cum autur uniuercitatis* (*Trotula* Ir1) - an Irish translation, perhaps mid-14th cent., of gynecological and obstetrical sections from the *Trotula* ensemble

Inc.: Cum autur uniuercitatis et cetera oir edirdealaidhid ughduir na huilidheachta naduir na nuilli raet faena . . .

Ed.: Winifred Wulff, ed., *A Mediaeval Handbook of Gynaecology and Midwifery, Preceded by a Section on the Grades and on the Treatment of Wounds and Some Good Counsel to the Physician Himself, Finishing with a Discussion on the Treatment of Scabies*, in *Irish Texts: Fasciculus V*, ed. John Fraser, Paul Grosjean, and J. G. O'Keefe (London: Sheed

& Ward, 1934), pp. 12-54

Lit.: Green (1997), p. 99

*Cura contra omnes passiones matricis* - the presence of two cross-references to chapters on non-gynecological subjects suggests this is an excerpt from some larger 12th-cent. Salernitan *Practica*

Inc.: Cura contra omnes passiones matricis et sunt iste: precipitatio matricis, suffocatio matricis, retentio me[n]struorum, fluxus me[n]struorum, mola matricis, aborsus, impedimentum conceptionis, difficultas pariendi, apostema matricis . . .

MS: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.14.30 (903), s. xiii ex. (France), ff. 204v-210v

*Cura omnium causarum matricis* - a late antique or early medieval text on various gynecological, obstetrical, and cosmetic conditions; in both mss the text is preceded by a list of 28 chapters

Inc. (text): Ad mamillarum dolorem. Terram et axungiam cum panis teris, et cataplasma imponis. Si a partu mammae intumescunt, murinum stercus cum aqua caelica teris . . .

MSS: Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, cod. med. 2 (L.III.6), s. ix/x, ff. 11r-22r

Vendôme, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 175, s. xi ex. (S. France), ff. 101r-104r

*Cure ad causa mulierum* - an early medieval collection of remedies for various gynecological and obstetric conditions, with frequent use of pessaries

Inc.: Pocio ad mulierem cui infas [sic] in utero mortus fuerit. Ructe fassiculu [sic] .i. dequoquis in aqua ad tercias . . .

MS: Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 96 (T.4.13), s. viii/ix (S. France or N. Italy), ff. 181r-182v (new foliation)

*Dit is van heimelicken medecinen der vrouwen uunde oeren gebrecken* - a Middle Dutch gynecological text

Inc.: So salmen weten dat die vrouwen krancker sein van natueren dan die mannen . . .

MS: \*Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliothek, MS II E 42, s. xvi

*De diversis causis mulierum* - 91 chapters covering a range of gynecological and obstetrical conditions; derives from Hippocratic *Diseases of Women* II

Inc. (list of capp.): .i. Hoc est ad omnia querela mulieris (Harley); Ad omnes querelas mulierum (Sloane); (text): Potio utilis ualde ad uniuersas causas mulierum, maxime menstrua prouocanda et secundinas post partum purgat . . . (Sloane)

Ed.: Walter Brüttsch, *De diversis causis mulierum, nach einer Petersburger Handschrift aus dem 9. Jahrhundert zum erstenmal gedruckt*, med. diss. (Freiburg im Br., 1922), from Petrograd, Publicnaja Biblioteka im. M.E. Saltykova-Scedrina, MS lat. F.v.VI.3, s. viii/ix, ff. 9ra-25rb

MSS: London, British Library, MS Harley 4977, s. xi ex. (France?), f. 120v - fragment of table of contents, through cap. XLII (*Si inguinem dolor [sic] periculosi sunt*)<sup>10</sup>

-----, MS Sloane 475, s. xi (Brittany), ff. 166r-209r

<sup>10</sup> The readings of this list are closer to the Petrograd text than the Sloane one. My thanks to Klaus-Dietrich Fischer for bringing this ms to my attention.

**Dominicus Maria Novara, *De mora infantis in matris utero***

Inc.: Tempus nativitatis tibi propositum pro tempore in diebus equatis . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 1562)

MS: \*Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 5503, an. 1519, ff. 196r-199v

***Encolpismum fervorem habet* - a late antique or early medieval collection of over 60 different recipes, mostly for pessaries, that incorporates some excerpts from the *Gynaecia Cleopatrae* and the *De pennis Cleopatrae***

Inc.: Encolpismum fervorem habet vel de dignacionem que difficilis ad purgandum, confice sic. Mittis semen lini fenugreci altee manipulum unum . . .

MS: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 4234, s. xiii, ff. 16v-21r

**Eucharius Roßlin see *Von Kranckheiten, Siechtagen und zu val der Swangern und geberenden frowen und ihrer neugebornen Kinderen***

***Experimentum ad provocandum menstruum***

Inc.: Experimentum ad provoc[and]um men[strum], quando omnes medicine defecerunt. Recipe rubeam . . .

MS: \*Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, MS Amplonian Q 229, s. xiv in., f. 12v

***Fisicum medicinalis de iunicia* - reworking of gynecological capp. from an early medieval Hippocratic *Aphorisms* commentary, partially in question-and-answer form**

Inc.: Menstrua adducere ex aromatibus calefactio aliquotiens . . .

MS: Vendôme, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 175, s. xi ex. (S. France), ff. 104r-106v

Ed.: partial transcription in Henry Sigerist, "Early Mediaeval Medical Texts in Manuscripts of Vendôme," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 14 (1943), 68-133, at pp. 101-2

***De fleubothomia***

Inc.: Mulieres macilente quoniam sepe minuunt . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 884)

MS: \*Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 362, s. xv, f. 77v

***Flos mulierum, or Blume der Frawen (Trotula Germ1)* - a German translation of the Salernitan *Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum*, possibly from the proto-ensemble**

Inc.: Du Got schepper aller dyngē yn der ersten geschepnisse der werlde allerhande dinge natur gab . . .

Lit.: Green (1997), p. 95

***For the sorow in the matrice* - a collection of gynecological recipes in Middle English and Latin**

Lit.: Green (1992), p. 83

**Gabriele Zerbi (c. 1435-1505), *Anathomia matricis pregnantis et est sermo de anathomia et generatione embrionis***

Inc.: Matricis substantia mulieris pregnantis non variatur neque illius complexio . . .

Lit.: Pesenti (1984), pp. 213-16

**Galen, *De anatomia matricis* - Niccolò da Reggio's 14th-cent. translation of Galen's description of the anatomy of the uterus**

Inc.: De matrice est sermo et positione et magnitudine et figura eius . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 379)

MS: \*Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 1211, s. xiv ex., ff. 62vb-64vb

**Galen (pseudo-), *De passionibus mulierum* see *De passionibus mulierum A & B; Sefer ha-Em el Galinus hu ha-Niqra Gynias***

**Galfridus Mydleton, *De urinis mulierum***

Inc.: Apud mulierem in qua adeps emaneat superius . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 116)

MS: \*London, British Library, MS Sloane 1571, s. xv, ff. 11r-v

***De genecia* - instructions to priest on how to determine whether to bless a newly-married woman with the *benedictio prolis* and how to instruct her on perinatal and postnatal care; incorporates the Soranic (?) text *Ad mulieres postquam peperint* (q.v.), although in a fuller version**

Inc.: Mulier si in toro coniugali quieverit, et illic eandem coniuu illius cognoverit . . .

MSS: \*Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit, MS Lips. 30, s. xi ex./xii in., f. 11r-v<sup>11</sup>

**Gentile da Foligno (d. 1348), *Consilium ad conceptionem***

MS: \*Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2500 [S.III.49], s. xv, ff. 71r

**Gershom Hagozer, *Klalei haMilah* - a Hebrew circumcisor's manual with a chapter *lenashim hamakshot leyled* ("For women with difficulties at birth"); the text, written in the region of Worms or Mainz in the 13th cent., incorporates the contemporary practices of Jewish midwives and employs local vernacular (German) terms for several plants**

Ed.: Elisheva Baumgarten, "Mothers and Children: The Medieval Jewish Experience," Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1999

Lit.: Elisheva Baumgarten, "Thus sayeth the midwives: Midwives and Midwifery in Thirteenth-Century Ashkenaz," *Zion* (forthcoming, January 2000)

**Gilbertus Anglicus, *The Sekenesse of Wymmen*, Version 1 - an early 15th cent. Middle English translation of the gynecological and obstetrical chapters from his Latin *Compendium medicine***

Ed.: M.-R. Hallaert, *The 'Sekenesse of wymmen': A Middle English Treatise on Diseases in Women (Yale Medical Library, Ms. 47 fols. 60r-71v, Scripta: Mediaeval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, no. 8 (Brussels: Omirel, UFSAL, 1982)*

Lit.: Green (1992), pp. 78-81, and *Addenda et Corrigenda* to this volume

<sup>11</sup> My thanks to Professor J. P. Gumbert of the Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden, for bringing this text to my attention.

-----, *The Sekenesse of Wymmen*, Version 2 - a mid-15th cent. adaptation that adds a preface addressing the text to women plus new material such as obstetrics from Muscio's *Gynaecia* with the fetus-in-utero figures  
 Ed./Trans.: Beryl Rowland, *Medieval Woman's Guide to Health: The First English Gynecological Handbook* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1981), a transcription of London, British Library, MS Sloane 2463, with modern English facing-page translation  
 Lit.: Green (1992), pp. 72-78, 81-82

Guillelmus de Brescia (Guglielmo de' Corvi, fl. 1274-1326), *Consilium de duritie derelicta in mamilla*

Inc.: Quoniam ut michi scripsistis in tumore mamille . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 1309)  
 MSS: \*Madrid, Biblioteca de la Fundación Lázaro, MS 653, s. xv (Italy)  
 \*Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 1194, s. xv med. (Padua?), ff. 145r-155vb  
 \*-----, -----, MS Pal. lat. 1240, an. 1463-64 (Vienna), ff. 120r-144v

Guillelmus de Saliceto, *Ad conceptum*

MS: \*Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 205, ca. 1442, ff. 246v-247r

Guillelmus de Voragine, *De iuvementis impregnationum*

Inc.: Si debeat fieri vera impregnatio et propagatio speciei humane . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 1446)  
 MS: \*Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 1177, an. 1447-48 (Trier), f. 187r

*Ha-ma'mar ba-toladah niqra sod ha-`ibbur* ("The Treatise on Generation, Called the Secret of Conception") - Hebrew tract on diagnosis and treatment of sterility in male and female; composed in 14th cent. by a writer in (or from) French town of Orange as a letter to his brother-in-law

Inc.: [Since your abiding love, my brother, is engraved and inscribed in my soul . . .]  
 Ed./Trans.: Barkai (1998), pp. 212-22

*Van heymeliken medicinen in vrouwen*, or *Secreta mulierum* (Trotula Dut1) - an abridged Middle Dutch rendition of portions of the *Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum*

Inc.: Want vrouwen vele crancker sijn dan die manne van naturen . . .  
 Lit.: Green (1997), pp. 81-82

Hippocrates (pseudo-), *Epistola Hippocratis de virginibus* - prognosticates future health of a woman depending on age she begins to menstruate; second part lays out a basic account of gynecological pathology and unique conception of female anatomy; in Vicenza ms, the text is attributed to Justus and Erasistratus

Inc.: Dicente virgine ut sit casta . . . (Berlin); Que ex grecis auctoribus in latinum certatus est. De tempora mulierum. Bonum est in uirginitate . . . (London; Vicenza is similar); In mulieribus vero matrix posita est in yliorum spacio . . . (Vendôme)  
 MSS: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS Phill. 1790, s. ix/x (France?), ff. 32v-33v  
 London, British Library, MS Harley 4977, s. xi ex. (France?), ff. 120r-v  
 Vendôme, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 175, s. xi ex. (S. France), ff. 44vb-45rb  
 Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana, MS 287 (*olim* H.31.7.4; G.2.8.2), s. xiii<sup>1</sup> (Italy?), ff. 141v-142r

-----, *De mulierum affectibus* - a late antique translation of the Hippocratic *Diseases of Women I*, perhaps redacted in North Africa and later altered

Inc. (pref.): Praeco ueritatis et sine mendacio didasculus, sicut exinde eorum semine . . . ; (text): Propter infirmitates mulierum, dicit mulierem parientem uel non parientem laboriose et in celeritate de menstruis infirmari . . .  
 Eds./Trans.: Innocenzo Mazzini & G. Flammini, *De Conceptu: Estratti di un' antica tradizione latina del Peri Gynaikion pseudoippocratico libro I* (Bologna: Pàtron Editore, 1983); Manuel Enrique Vazquez Bujan, *El 'De mulierum affectibus' del Corpus Hippocraticum: Estudio y edición crítica de la antigua traducción latina*, Monografías de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 124 (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1986), with a modern Spanish trans.

*Historie uenientium matrici causarum* - a brief paragraph defining the various afflictions of the uterus (*condiloma, ragadia, spasmo, ulceratio, canceroma, protosi, stromate et roniphe*)

Inc.: Quoniam naturaliter mulierum naturas in anatomicis nobis historiam dedit, super est, historie uenientes matrici causas in magnitudinem deducere et ex mulierum . . .  
 MS: Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana, MS 287 (*olim* H.31.7.4; G.2.8.2), s. xiii<sup>1</sup> (Italy?), ff. 151r-v

*Hoe dat embryo gewonnen wort* - a Dutch gynecological text

Inc.: De sommyge differeren in woorden en in waerheyt Want de Opperste der phylosophen seydt . . .  
 MS: \*Hattem, Gemeentearchief, MS 958, s. xvi, pp. 50-52

*In Gentilis a Fulgineo tractatum de partu et temporibus partus*

Inc.: Tria autem nobis declarat presens tractatus primum non est . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 1586)  
 MS: \*Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, VI.218 (XII,18), s. xiv, ff. 177-178

*Inprimis considerandum est utrum culpa uiri uel mulieris* - brief tract on infertility, probably of Salernitan origin

Inc.: Inprimis considerandum est utrum culpa uiri uel mulieris. Si ergo mulieris culpa menstrua careant, et si ei incompetenter accidant .i. fimmus . . .  
 MSS: \*Kassel, Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt und Landesbibliothek, 4<sup>o</sup> Ms. med. 20, ca. 1200 (Poland?), ff. 27r-28r  
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 79 (SC 1680), s. xiii<sup>1</sup> (England?), ff. 101v-102v

*Interrogaciones in cura sterilitatis uiri et mulieris* - forty factors that

determine fitness for procreation; closes with recipes to render the couple fertile (these correspond to some in the *Liber de muliebría* [q.v.] as well as the Salernitan *Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum* [¶¶76 and 78b])

Inc.: Si mulier est multum pinguis. Si senex uel iuuenis . . .

MSS: \*Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS lat. fol. 466, ca. 1400 (S. Germany)

\*Darmstadt, Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, MS 405, f. 254r-v

Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel, 2° Ms. med. 7, ca. 1435 (Germany), ff. 246vb-247ra

Isidore of Seville (?), *De conceptione (secundum dictum Isidorii)*

Inc.: Ex umbilico pendet infans in utero matris . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 538)

MS: \*Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College, MS 91 (173), s. xiii, pp. 200b-201a

*Item om vraukens te helpene van vele ghebreckelychede die hemlieden dicwils toe coemende syn* - a Middle Dutch gynecological text

Inc.: Item ten eersten want sommige vrouwen ghecregen groot hooftsweer . . .

MS: \*Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, Cod. 162, an. 1533, ff. 50v-53r

Jean de Trabarnaco (?), *Des aydes de la mayre des dames et de leurs medecines* - either a literal French translation of the gynecological sections from the Catalan *Libre . . . al qual à mès nom Tròtula* (see below) or, alternately, the source for the latter

Inc.: Il ya plusieurs femmes qui ont la mayre chaulde ou froide ou plaines de mauuaisez humeurs pour quoy il est expedient et valent a vser espicez chauldes et froides simples et compostez . . .

MSS: \*Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 330, s. xv, ff. 106v-109r

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr. 19994, s. xv med., ff. 193v-201v

-----, MS nouv. acq. fr. 11649, s. xv med., ff. 160v-166r

Johan de Reimbamaco (?), *Libre . . . al qual à mès nom Tròtula* - a

14th-cent. Catalan tract on feminine cosmetics and hygiene, seemingly written by a certain mestre Johan de Reimbamaco (see previous text); derives from Latin *De ornatu* traditionally ascribed to Arnau de Vilanova as well as other texts

Inc.: Assí comença lo libre qui parla gint e desliure de tot adop de la regine, per la qual en tot son temps viurà sana; lo qual à fet mestre Johan a la infante molt agrandant, al qual à mès nom Tròtula . . .; (prol.): Del pròlec de aquest libre. Molt és benauyrat qui pot servir a totes jens en grat, e mayorment com hom servex a dona, que és cap e pretz de tot ensenyamens e on beutat s'afina . . .

Ed.: Montserrat Cabré i Pareit, "La cura del cos femení i la medicina medieval de tradició llatina," Ph.D. dissertation (Universitat de Barcelona, 1994), pp. 252-353<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> This is available on microfiche from Publicacions Universitat de Barcelona, Col.lecció de Tesis Doctorals Microfítxades núm. 2794.

Johannes Hartlieb (d. 1468), *Das Buch Trotula (Trotula Germ2)* - a translation of the *Trotula* standardized ensemble probably made between 1460 and 1465; Hartlieb's version, divided into 26 chapters, uses the *Trotula* as a framework on which to weave a novel compendium

Lit.: Kristian Bosselmann-Cyran, 'Secreta mulierum' mit Glosse in der deutschen Bearbeitung von Johann Hartlieb, Würzburger medizinhistorische Forschungen, Band 36 (Pattensen/Hannover: Horst Wellm, 1985); idem, "Ein weiterer Textzeuge von Johann Hartliebs 'Secreta mulierum'- und 'Buch Trotula'-Bearbeitung: Der Mailänder Kodex AE.IX.34 aus der Privatbibliothek des Arztes und Literaten Albrecht von Haller", *Würzburger medizinhistorische Mitteilungen* 13 (1995), 209-15; Green (1997), pp. 95-97

Johannes Jacobi (Jean Jacme, d. 1384), *De sterilitate*

Inc.: Signum potissimum humiditatis matricis . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 1506)

MS: \*Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, MS Aug. 2841, ff. 81vb-82ra  
see also Petrus Nadillis

Johannes de Parma, *Regimen contra sterilitatem* - a regimen of diet and medicines, with instructions on coitus

Inc.: Regimen contra sterilitatem tantum a frigiditate et humiditate matricis consistit in dieta et medicinis. Dieta est hoc . . .

MSS: Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel, 2° Ms. med. 7, ca. 1435 (Germany), ff. 246va-b

Oxford, Exeter College, MS 35, s. xiv<sup>1</sup> (England), f. 255rb-va

Johannes Pataranus (Jean Pataran, fl. 1375-82), *Regimen de conceptione in complexione flegmatica* - an elaborate regimen of 16 different elements (diet, drinks, baths, etc.) laid out in detail under separate headings

Inc.: Fructus artis nostre legitime approbatus hic sentiētur si sensualiter ad opus ponatur . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 571)

MSS: \*Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 282, s. xv

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 7066, s. xv med. (E. France), ff. 24r-26v

Jordanus de Turre see *Tractatus de sterilitate*

*The Knowyng of Womans Kynde and Chyldyng (Trotula Eng1)* - a late 14th-cent. translation of *Trotula* Fren2 fused with excerpts from the *Non omnes quidem* and the pseudo-Cleopatra *Gynaecia*

Lit.: Green (1992), pp. 64-68; and Green (1997), pp. 84-86<sup>13</sup>

*Von Kranckheiten, Siechtagen und zu val der Swangern und geberenden frowen und ihrer neugebornen Kinderen* - a late 15th-cent. manuscript ver-

<sup>13</sup> An edition is currently being prepared by Alexandra Barratt of the University of Waikato, New Zealand.

sion of the text that would in 1513 be published under the title *Der schwangeren Frauen und Hebammen Rosengarten* by Eucharius Rößlin

Lit.: Britta-Juliane Kruse, "Neufund einer handschriften Vorstufe von Eucharius Rößlins Hebammenlehrbuch *Der schwangeren Frauen und Hebammen Rosengarten* und des *Frauenbüchleins* Ps.-Ortolfs," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 78 (1994), 220-236

*Liber de causis [sic] feminarum* - a loose collection of miscellaneous remedies; the opening sections derive from the *Gynaecia Cleopatrae*  
Inc.: De curatione[s] mulierum dicam, prius tamen quemadmodum pessaria fiant, que uocabula habeant . . .

Ed.: Egert (1936), pp. 10-23, from Petrograd, Publicnaja Biblioteka im. M.E. Saltykova-Scedrina, MS lat. F.v.VI.3, s. viii/ix, ff. 28ra-31vb

*Liber de muliebria [sic]* - collection of brief remedies that never appear in same form twice; usually included are methods to promote or inhibit conception, treatment of menstrual disorders and various afflictions of the uterus; derives from the Hippocratic *Diseases of Women II*

Inc.: Ut mulier concipiat, prius menstrua deducenda sunt ut bene purgentur et ut uulua ex duricia et mollicia uenit . . .

Ed.: Egert (1936), pp. 24-33 and 34-45, from Petrograd, Publicnaja Biblioteka im. M.E. Saltykova-Scedrina, MS lat. F.v.VI.3, s. viii/ix, ff. 1vb-5vb and 32va-37vb<sup>14</sup>

MSS: Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 96 (T.4.13), s. viii/ix (S. France or N. Italy), ff. 173r-175r (new foliation)

Krivoklát, Bibliotheca Castri Krivoklát, MS 144 (I d 61), s. xii, ff. 74r-76r

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. misc. c. 73, s. xiii med. (S. France or Italy), ff. 24rb-24va

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 11219, s. ix med. (France), f. 211rb-vb

*Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum* see *Trotula*

*Liber geneciae ad Soteris obs[is]etrix* - complex conflation of late antique materials into a 6-book compendium; incorporates parts of *Gynaecia Cleopatrae* (perhaps in an early version)<sup>15</sup> and what seems to be a translation or adaptation of Soranus's *Gynaikēia*; V. Rose edited a portion of Books I and II separately (cf. Soranus, *Liber ad Soteris obstetrix*)

Inc. (pref.): Theodote pante medica reginarum Cleopatrae et Arsenoe ac remedia singula . . .

MSS: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 73, cod. 1, s. ix/x (Italy), ff. 155ra-177ra

<sup>14</sup> The latter is edited under the title *Liber de muliebria causa*.

<sup>15</sup> At the beginning of both Book I and Book V are found different versions of the preface to the *Gynaecia Cleopatrae*. Indeed, the preface to the *Gynaecia Cleopatrae* seems to be a composite of the other two, with the *Ad Soteris*, Book I, preface inserted (with some very important grammatical changes) into the preface of *Ad Soteris*, Book V.

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 6337, anno 1494 (Italy), ff. 47v-79v (an apograph of the Florence ms)

Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana, MS 287 (*olim* H.31.7.4; G.2.8.2), s. xiii<sup>1</sup> (Italy?), f. 142r-v (*Liber ad Soteris* fragment, ed. Rose 133.7-134.31), ff. 142v-143r (latter part of Book III, beginning of Book IV)

*Liber Trotuli (Trotula Eng2)* - a condensed and rearranged 15th-cent. Middle English translation of selections from the intermediate *Trotula* ensemble; it is the only English translation to include cosmetic material

Lit.: Green (1992), pp. 68-69; and Green (1997), p. 86

*Li livre de Trocule (Trotula Fren5)* - extant in only one fragmentary copy, this is a literal French translation of the Salernitan *Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum*, perhaps from standardized *Trotula* ensemble; it may date from the 14th cent.

Inc.: Comme Dieu faiseur de l'universel monde devisast en la premiere constitution du monde . . .

Lit.: Green (1997), p. 93

Maimonides, *Liquetei Rabbenu Mosheh be-`inyanei veset ve-herayon* ("Maimonides's Compilation on Menstruation and Pregnancy") - Hebrew translation of gynecological and obstetrical selections from Maimonides's 12th-cent. Judeo-Arabic writings on medicine

Lit.: Barkaï (1998), pp. 65-67, 223

*Des maladies qui peuuent souruenir es membres generatifz de la femme* - French text written ca. 1440-50 by anonymous physician who claims to have cured many women in Paris, Rouen, and Amiens; cites Hippocrates, Aristotle, Avicenna, Albertus Magnus

Inc.: Comme dit Aristote en son liure des bestes, la generation est fecte en la femme, et l'omme ne suffist pas a faire generation s'il na femme qui luy ayde . . .

MS: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr. 2043 (s. xv med.), ff. 77r-99v

Lit.: Ernest Wickersheimer, "La descente de matrice d'une bourgeoise de Paris et le monstre bicéphale d'Aubervilliers: Deux observations du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Le Progrès Médical* 47 (17 Nov. 1931), 2099

*Der Mannen ende Vrouwen Heimelijcheit* (the only documented title in the mss is the Latin rubric *Expliciunt mulierum secreta*) (*Trotula Dut2*) - rhymed verse 14th-cent. Middle Dutch text; draws on *Meretrices* group version of the *Trotula* proto-ensemble as well as other texts

Inc.: God, enich Vader ende Here, / Sonder beghin ende emmermere . . . (*or* God maecten den man na sijne werden / vanden lyme ende vander erden . . .)

Ed.: Napoléon De Pauw, "Der Mannen ende Vrouwen Heimelijcheit," in *Middelnederlandsche Gedichten en Fragmenten*, 3 vols. (Gent: Siffer, 1893-97), 1:121-90

Lit.: Green (1997), 82-83, listing 1 new ms

Marsilius de Sancta Sophia (d. 1403?), *Contra album fluxum menstruorum*  
 Inc.: Quoniam indescripte in cedula per virum egregium magnum Nicolaum Teruisium  
 arcium . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 1280)

MS: \*Bethesda (Maryland), National Library of Medicine, MS 33 (518), s. xv, ff. 124v-126r

Mattheus Bolderius da Verona (d. 1465), *De suffocatione matricis ex replecione consilium*

Inc.: Clistere. Recipe radicem altee foliarum malve . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 1332)

Lit.: Pesenti (1984), p. 61.

Maurus Salernitanus (pseudo-), *Tractatus mirabilis et practica nobilis de sterilitate virorum atque mulierum* - a reworking of the anonymous 14th-cent. *Tractatus de sterilitate* from Montpellier (q.v.)

Lit.: Montero Cartelle, *Tractatus de sterilitate: Anónimo de Montpellier*, pp. 49-50

Maynus de Mayneriis (d. 1368), *De iuuamentibus mulieres ad impregnandum* - an excerpt from Maynus' *Regimen sanitatis*

Inc.: Sic ait Magninus. Sed quoniam difficultas impregnacionis ex parte mulieris ut plurimum contingit ex mala complexione frigida et humida . . .

MS: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 7066, s. xv med. (E. France or Germany), f. 21r-v

*De menstruis* - a collection of recipes

Inc.: Menstruis mulieri deficientibus succurendum est . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 869)

MS: \*Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 1321, s. xv, ff. 138vb-139ra

Michele Savonarola (d. ca. 1466), *Ad mulieres ferrarienses de regimine pregnantium et noviter natorum usque ad septennium* - a tract on pregnancy and care of the newborn written in Ferrarese dialect

Inc.: Essendo veramente quellui ingrato il quale di beneficii ricevuti se sinemora, et havendo io sempre in gram odio et abominatione . . .

Ed.: Luigi Belloni, *Il trattato ginecologico-pediatrico in volgare 'Ad mulieres ferrarienses de regimine pregnantium et noviter natorum usque ad septennium'* (Milan: Società Italiana di ostetricia e ginecologia, 1952) based on the Venice and Vatican mss

MS: \*Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca Municipale, MS Turri C 12 (s. xv)

Lit.: Riccardo Gualdo, *Il lessico medico del 'De regimine pregnantium' di Michele Savonarola* (Florence: Accademia della Crusca, 1996)

*Miquosi ha-Leda* ("On difficulties of Birth") - chapter on difficult birth apparently extracted from a Hebrew medical compendium; accompanied by the 16 fetus-in-utero figures from Muscio's *Gynaecia* (q.v.)

Inc.: [On Difficulties of Birth. The birth (can be) natural, unnatural, or difficult—and for that reason it is especially worthwhile to examine the natural . . .]

Trans.: Ron Barkai, "A Medieval Hebrew Treatise on Obstetrics," *Medical History* 33 (1989), 96-119, at pp. 115-19 (with photographic reproductions of the Hebrew text and

accompanying illustrations from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS héb. 1120, ff. 66v-67r and 68v-70r)

*De morbis mulierum* - quotes a variety of ancient authors (e.g., Aristotle, Galen, Paul, Pliny, Aetius), usually citing exact book and cap. number; apparently novel 15th-cent. composition showing humanist inspiration

Inc.: Multa quidem sunt animalibus a natura tributa signa . . .

MS: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 1229, s. xv

*De morbis mulierum tractatus* - a work in 18 capp. covering basic obstetrical and gynecological conditions; heavy emphasis on etiology, with constant logical subdivisions between internal and external causes of disease

Inc.: Causa interna sterilitatis a frigida intempe uteri sunt . . .

MS: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 1073, s. xv, ff. 2r-52v

Muscio, *Gynaecia* - a condensed and "simplified" Latin translation of Soranus's Greek *Gynaikēia* and perhaps his *Cateperotiana* (a gynecological question-and-answer book); originally included labelled diagram of uterus and series of illustrations of fetus-in-utero to show malpresentations; Muscio's dates have never been confirmed, though it is usually supposed that he made his translations in the 5th or 6th cent. in North Africa; the *Gynaecia* often circulates with Muscio's *Pessaria* (q.v.)

Inc. (pref.): Cum frequentius nobis in muliebribus obstetrix fuisset necessaria, nullam invenimus studiosam quae litterae graecas adtigisse videretur . . .; (text): In quot vel quas partes dividere oportet muliebrum traditionem . . .

Ed./Trans.: Valentin Rose, ed., *Sorani Gynaeciorum vetus translatio latina* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1882); Rino Radicchi, *La 'Gynaecia' di Muscione: Manuale per le ostetriche e le mamme del VI sec. d. C.* (Pisa: Giardini, 1970), with Italian trans.

Lit.: Hanson & Green (1994), pp. 1046-61, *passim*, and 1072-73, listing 18 mss (7 of which were unknown to Rose and Radicchi)

-----, *Pessaria* - a Latin collection of recipes for some 60 pessaries (medicated vaginal suppositories) and other gynecological remedies apparently translated from Soranus's Greek *Gynaikēia* and perhaps his *Cateperotiana*; later translated into Judeo-Arabic (see *Sefer Dinah*)

Inc.: Initium curae matricis quae fervorem habet aut duritiam aut declinationem . . .

Ed.: Rose, *Sorani Gynaeciorum vetus translatio latina*, pp. 120-28, from the Copenhagen and Vatican mss, with variants from the excerpts in the Leiden ms

Lit.: Hanson & Green (1994), p. 1072, listing a total of 7 mss

-----, fetus-in-utero illustrations - extracted from Muscio's *Gynaecia*, this series of 7-19 illustrations circulated separately, sometimes accompanied by descriptive text; incorporated into some copies of the Latin translation of Albucasis's surgical work, Hebrew treatise on difficulties of birth (*Miquosi ha-Leda*), and Middle English *Sekenesse of Wymmen 2*

**Inc.:** Hic est secundum naturam primus partus et melior ab omnibus . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 617); Que singule partes et cognoscantur et facillime . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 1185); Si in pedibus descendit in aliquam partem matricis . . .

**Ed.:** cf. Rose ed., pp. 84-89 (text) and plates

**Lit.:** Hanson & Green (1994), pp. 1023-24 and 1073, listing 20 mss

see also *Non omnes quidem*, *The Nature of Women*, *De naturis mulierum*, *De passionibus mulierum* B, *Secreta secretorum mulierum*, *Sefer ha-Toledet*, *Sefer Dinah le-Khol Inyan ha-Rehem ve-Holayeha*

*Von der Natur der Frauen und ihren Krankheiten* - German theoretical discussion of generation, anatomy, humoral complexions, signs of pregnancy, etc., followed by remedies for gynecological, obstetrical, and pediatric conditions; cites Galen, Constantine, "meister Trocula", Albert, Hippocrates

**Inc.:** Nach nutzbarkeit der unverstandnen frowen und mannen die keins dings underscheid wüssend wie sy sich halten soellend . . .

**Ed.:** Kruse (1996), pp. 272-97

*The Nature of Women* - a late 14th-cent. Middle English translation of the Latin *De naturis mulierum* (q.v.)

**Ed.:** Green (1992), pp. 84-88

*De naturis mulierum* - an adaptation of mostly obstetrical excerpts from Muscio's *Gynaecia*, apparently redacted in Paris in the late 13th or early 14th cent.; translated in the late 14th cent. into English

**Inc.:** De naturis mulierum locuturi sumus . . .

**Lit.:** Green (1992), pp. 84-85; Hanson & Green (1994), 1056-57, 1074; Monica H. Green, "From 'Diseases of Women' to 'Secrets of Women': The Transformation of Gynecological Literature in the Later Middle Ages," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 30 (2000), 5-39, at p. 22

Nicholaus Florentinus (Niccolò Falcucci, d. 1412), *De membris genitalibus* (or *De passionibus mulierum*) - sixth *sermo* on diseases of the reproductive organs from Niccolò's enormously popular *Sermonum liber scientie medicine*; divided into three parts, it cites Avicenna, Guillelmus, Rasis, Rabi, Gilbertus, Gordon, Paul, Pietro d' Abano, etc.

**Inc.:** Galienus primo de virtutibus naturalibus dixit . . . (Edinburgh & Utrecht); Signum complexionis naturalis matricis est primum quod totum corpus est calidum . . . (Herzogenburg); Signa complexionis matricis calide sunt 12. Primum est dixit auicenna . . . (Lille; cf. T-K<sup>2</sup> 1501); Capitulum primum de Natura sperme generantis et non generantis secundum etates humanas. Dixit Auicenna 20.3<sup>ii</sup> Quod sperma ebrii decrepiti . . . (Manchester)

**MSS:** \*Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Adv. 23.1.12, s. xv ex. (Italy?), ff. 43r-end

\*Herzogenburg, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 79 (HMML 3246), s. xv (Austria and/or S. Germany), ff. 180r-203v

Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 334, s. xv, ff. 1r-223r

\*London, British Library, MS Sloane 336, s. xv, ff. 156r-266v (selected capp.)  
Manchester, Chetham's Library, MS 27857 (Mun. A.3.134), s. xv<sup>2</sup> (Flanders?), ff. 1r-285v  
Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS 692, s. xv, ff. 2r-157r

*Non omnes quidem* - 78 chapters of selections from Muscio's *Gynaecia* with other material; perhaps redacted in Italy in 11th cent. or somewhat earlier; often circulates with the abbreviated *Gynaecia Cleopatrae* and *De passionibus mulierum* A

**Inc.:** Non omnes quidem nec equaliter purgantur . . .

**Lit.:** Hanson & Green (1994), pp. 1055-58 and 1074, listing 9 mss; *Erratum:* the text in Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit, MS Voss. lat. Q. 99, s. xiii<sup>1</sup> (France), ff. 214va-216vb, was incorrectly identified there as the *Non omnes quidem*; correctly, it is *De passionibus mulierum*, Version B (q.v.)

*Nota de anatomia matricis* - immediately follows a commentary on pseudo-Albertus Magnus, *De secretis mulierum*

**Inc.:** Nota autem quod matrix est pellis tenuis . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 926)

**MS:** \*Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS 723, an. 1353, ff. 77v-78r

*Now here begynneth of the swellyng of ballocks* - a 15th-cent. Middle English andrological, gynecological and obstetric text

**Lit.:** Green (1992), pp. 83-84

Odo de Credolio, excerpts on fertility - first, a medicine that Odo is said to have employed successfully in Montpellier, plus 2 other recipes; then discusses length of gestation and development of embryo

**Inc.:** Recipe triffere magne sine opio . . . ; Notandum quod triplex est tempus impregnationis . . .

**MS:** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 7066, s. xv med. (E. France or Germany), ff. 12v, 22r-v

*Omnes infirmitates mulierum* - a brief early medieval collection of recipes on problems of the breasts, uterine displacement, menstrual retention, infertility, difficult birth, and hair care

**Inc.:** Ad lacte in mamilla reuocanda. Si nutrices edant lacte de capras tissanis, semen fenuculi cicuis cum uino dulce . . .

**MS:** Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 96 (T.4.13), s. viii/ix (S. France or N. Italy), ff. 171v-172v (new foliation)

*Una Opera de picol volume e bona utilidade e maximamente per le done* (*Trotula* Ital2) - a condensed Italian translation of selected gynecological and obstetrical material from the *Trotula* ensemble

**Inc.:** Incipit prologus de matrice. Ergo per voler acomezziare vna opera de picol volume e bona utilidade e maximamente per le done per la sua infirmitade de la matrice. Impero volgio comenziare ad alcune done le quale ano sua natura . . .

**Lit.:** Green (1997), p. 101

*De ornatu mulierum see Trotula*

Ortolf von Bayerland (pseudo-), *Vorstufe des Frauenbüchleins* - an anonymous later 15th-cent. German text on regimen during pregnancy, childbirth, and postpartum care, written as instructions to the pregnant woman herself; it was printed ca. 1495 under the title *Das Frauenbüchlein* ("Women's Manual") and attributed to Ortolf von Bayerland

Inc.: Wie sich ein schwangre fraw halten sol bey 14 tagen Ee sy geperen sol . . .

Ed.: Kruse (1996), pp. 307-13

*Parum aliquid de genicia ad menstrua provocandum* - a collection of 24 brief recipes for provoking menstruation; it ends with a cross-reference to another text on emmenagogic pessaries

Inc.: Menstruam autem provocare omnia diuretica certum est. Radices caulium cocte . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 869)

MS: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 7028, s. xi<sup>2</sup> (central Italy), ff. 158v-159v

*Li Passione de li mamille see Tractatus pulcherrimus de passionibus mamil-larum*

*De passionibus mulierum* Urtext - late antique or early medieval collection of gynecological remedies, similar stylistically to the pseudo-Cleopatra *Gynaecia*; bulk of text has clear correspondences to Greek text attributed (in the one known manuscript) to a certain Metrodora;<sup>16</sup> no copies of full Latin text are extant, though fragments embedded in version B together with those in Madrid ms suggest its character

MS: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 4234 (*olim* L 163), s. xiii (France?), f. 28r-v (capp. 35-39 only)

*De passionibus mulierum*, Version A - abbreviated version in 39 capp. of fuller *De passionibus mulierum* Urtext; probably redacted in Italy in the 11th cent. or somewhat earlier, perhaps in conjunction with abbreviated version

<sup>16</sup> The identity of some passages from the *Book of Metrodora* and excerpts attributed to "Priscian" and "Cleopatra" in Caspar Wolf's 1566 *Gynaeciorum Harmoniae* was recognized by Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, "'Métrodôra' et son oeuvre", in Evelyne Patlagean, ed., *Maladie et société à Byzance* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1993), pp. 57-96. Wolf has, of course, confused *De passionibus mulierum* A (which he attributes to Priscianus) with *De passionibus mulierum* B (which he attributes to Cleopatra); see Essay III above, pp. 301-2. My comparison of the Metrodora text with *De passionibus mulierum* A & B confirms that at least two-thirds of the Latin text have direct correspondences with the Greek, though the degree of correlation varies considerably.

of the *Gynaecia Cleopatrae*, which it cross-references<sup>17</sup> and with which it often circulates (together with the abbreviation of Muscio, *Non omnes quidem*); in mss and Renaissance printed editions it is attributed to Theodorus, Priscianus, Cleopatra, Trotula, Galen, and Constantinus Africanus

Inc. (pref.): De passionibus mulierum utile previdi vobis scribere. Superuenientium enim diuersarum et plurimarum passionum in matrice alique periculose et insanabiles fiunt . . . ; (text): Dolor sintoma forte et si cito non occurratur uulnera . . .

Lit.: Monica H. Green, "The *De genecia* Attributed to Constantine the African," *Speculum* 62 (1987), 299-323 (Essay III in this volume), *passim*

MSS: Cambridge, St John's College, cod. D.4 [James 79], s. xii<sup>1</sup> (Italy), ff. 173r-175r  
Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, MS Db 92.93, ca. 1460 (Flanders), ff. 256v-257v  
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Strozzi 88, s. xii (Italy), ff. 117v-120r  
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 4234 (*olim* L 163), s. xiii (France?), ff. 31r-32r  
New York, New York Academy of Medicine, MS SAFE, ca. 1230-1250 (France), ff. 82ra-82vb

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1432, s. xv ex. (Italy), ff. 188v-189v

-----, -----, MS Laud misc. 567, s. xii in. (England), ff. 60v-62r

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 6865, between 1345 and 1353 (France), ff. 210va-211rb

-----, -----, MS lat. 7056, ca. 1240-1260 (England or N. France), ff. 88rb-89va

-----, -----, MS nouv. acq. lat. 603, s. xiii<sup>1</sup> (Italy?), ff. 54ra-55ra

Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Varia 16 (*olim* 591), s. xv (Italy), ff. 5r-8v

Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, MS C 662, s. xiv (France), ff. 46ra-46va

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 1100, s. xiv<sup>2</sup> (Germany), ff. 313ra-314ra

*De passionibus mulierum*, Version B - 26 chapters crafted from opening section of *De passionibus mulierum* Urtext (capp. 1-2 & 8-9), pseudo-Cleopatra *Gynaecia* (capp. 3-7), and selections from Muscio's *Gynaecia* (capp. 10-26); probably redacted in Italy in 11th cent. or somewhat earlier

Inc. (pref.): De passionibus mulierum utile previdi vobis scribere superuenientibus plurimis et diuersis passionibus sepius de matrice, ex quibus alique periculose et insanabiles fuerint propter confessionem turpitudinis . . . ; (text): Quando matrix mota fuerit dolor et sinthomata valida aderit et si citius non occurratur . . .

Lit.: Essay III in this volume, *passim*; Hanson & Green (1994), pp. 1054-57 and 1073-74; to the list of 12 mss in the latter essay add:

MS: Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit, MS Voss. lat. Q. 99, s. xiii<sup>1</sup> (France), *Dpm* B, attributed to Galen (this ms was incorrectly listed on p. 1074 of Hanson & Green (1994) as a copy of the *Non omnes quidem*)

Paulus see pseudo-Pliny

<sup>17</sup> Chapter 3 of *De passionibus mulierum* A (*Ad dolorem matricis pro abstinentia uiri*) refers the reader to chapter 10 of *genecia cleopatre* (*Ad dolorem et punctionem aut prurium matricis pro abstinentia uiri*) for therapeutic prescriptions.



Paulus Aeginetus (7th cent.), *De difficultate parturiendi* - chapter on causes of dystocia from 10th-cent. Latin translation of Paulus's encyclopedia, *De re medica* (Book 3, cap. 251)<sup>18</sup>

Inc.: Difficultas parturiendi fit aut propter parientem aut propter id quod paritur . . .

MS: Cambridge, St John's College, MS D.4 [James 79], s. xiii<sup>1</sup>, f. 170r-v

Petrus de Argillata, *De constrictione oris matricis*

Inc.: Matrix aliquando est lesa in figura vel situ . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 852)

MS: \*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, BN nouv. acq. lat. 1536, s. xiii, f. 122r-v

Petrus Musandinus, *Practica* - separately circulating gynecological chapters from a general medical compendium of the 12th-cent. Salernitan author

Inc.: Matrix ad humanam generationem membrum maxime multis subiacens passionibus . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 852)

MSS: \*Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Addit. 6865, s. xiii in., ff. 103va-106vb

\*Prague, Knihovná Metropolitni Kapituli, Cod. M-1, s. xv (Bohemia), ff. 104v-106r

Petrus de Nadillis (Pierre de Nadilz, fl. 1369-1374), *De impregnatione* (also entitled *Libellus de conceptu*) - a diagnostic and therapeutic tract examining the various causes of female sterility; the text is also attributed to Arnau de Vilanova and Johannes Jacobi

Inc.: Inde est quia altissimus creavit masculinum et feminam . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 741); Unde (est quod) altissimus masculum et femellam (feminam) ad producendam . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 1598)

MSS: \*Darmstadt, Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, MS 405, s. xv ex., ff. 250r-253v

\*Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1179, ff. 142a-145b

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 6988A, s. xv in. (E. France), ff. 145r-149va

-----, MS lat. 7066, s. xv med. (E. France), ff. 13r-20v

\*San Candido, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS VIII B 15, s. xv, ff. 159v-163r

\*Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 1205, s. xv, ff. 18v-24r

\*Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 1320, s. xiv ex. (Montpellier?), ff. 2v-5r

Pliny (pseudo-), *Liber Pauli ad mamillae nucleolos* - an excerpt from pseudo-Pliny, *Physica*, on conditions of the breasts and menses

Inc.: Ad mamillae nucleolos et ad dolorem dactulum purgatum ab lata interiore albugine teris cum cepullae germane . . .

MS: Vendôme, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 175, s. xi ex. (S. France), ff. 106v-108v<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Cf. J. L. Heiberg, ed., *Pauli Aeginetae libri tertii interpretatio latina antiqua* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1912), pp. 193-96.

<sup>19</sup> Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, cod. med. 2, which has several texts in common with Vendôme 175, has the full text of the pseudo-Pliny; see Alf Önnersfors, ed., *Physica Plinii Bambergensis* (Cod. Bamb. med. 2, fol. 93v-232r) (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1975).

*Potio ad menstrua si superuenerit* - a collection of various gynecological and obstetrical remedies, seemingly culled from a variety of sources

Inc.: Potio ad menstrua si superuenerit: granati cortice et pice liquida quantum tribus digitis tenes cum uino bibat . . .

MS: Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana, MS 287 (*olim* H.31.7.4; G.2.8.2), s. xiii<sup>1</sup> (Italy?), ff. 143v-145v

*Provat menstrua mulieris* - a Dutch gynecological and obstetrical text

Inc.: Provat menstrua mulieris. Gheeft haer des morgens nuchteren alle morgen 8 bladeren bekebrom met sout . . .

MS: \*Hattem, Gemeentearchief, MS 958, s. 16, pp. 11-15

*Puelle non purgantur* - a brief discussion of amenorrhea, the causes of miscarriage, regimen for pregnancy, signs of approaching labor, advice on breast-feeding, and care of the newborn

Inc.: Puelle non purgantur quia incremento expedit neque que in multo exercitio sunt quia exercitium consumit. Pregnantes non quia puer inde nutritur . . .

MS: Basel, Öffentliche Universitätsbibliothek, MS F II 19, s. xiii/xiv, f. 172ra-b

*Quando in matrice humores multi sunt* - a collection of some 2 dozen different remedies for pessaries, potions, etc., some of which derive from the *Gynaecia Cleopatrae*

Inc.: Quando in matrice humores multi sunt oculi dolent et extrema .i. anguli eorum sunt sanguinea, capud calidum habent . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 1168)

MS: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 19429, s. xii, ff. 47v-49r

*Quant Dex nostre Seigneur out le mund estoré* (*Trotula Fren2I, Fren2II, and Fren2III*) - a French translation of the Salernitan *Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum* probably dating from the first half of the 13th cent.

Inc.: Quant Dex nostre Seigneur out le mund (sic) estoré . . .

Lit.: Green (1997), pp. 90-92

*Quedam de suffocatione matricis, cum aliis receptis*

Inc.: Dispositio huius doctrine est monstratio . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 437)

MS: \*Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. misc. 156, an. 1500, ff. 83-92

*Questiones due de conceptu simpliciter simplici*

Inc.: Utrum aliquis conceptus simpliciter simplex . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 1630)

MS: \*Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 869, s. xiv, ff. 29r-44r

Raymundus de Moleriis see *Tractatus de sterilitate*

*Regime des dames pour leurs aydier en leurs maladies et aduersitez* (*Trotula Fren6*) - a generally literal translation, probably from the 15th cent., of almost the whole *Trotula* standardized ensemble (through ¶308)

Inc.: Dieu tout puissant acteur et ordonneur de toutes les vniuersitez . . .  
Lit.: Green (1997), pp. 93-94

*Remedia ad mamillas durificandas et ad mundifiendum cutim faciei*

MS: \*Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 205, ca. 1442, ff. 59r-60v

*Remedia ad morbos mulierum*

Inc.: Ad fetum expellendum mulier sucum porri bibat . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 40)

MS: \*Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 206, s. xv, f. 205vb

*Scriptum optimum de causa sterilitatis*

Inc.: Scriptum optimum de causa sterilitatis . . .

MS: \*Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, MS Amplonian Q 192, ff. 37r-47v

*Les Secrès de femmes (Trotula Fren1)* - a free French translation of the

Salernitan *Tractatus de egritudinibus mulierum* in octosyllabic and alexandrine verse, probably dating from the first half of the 13th cent.

Inc.: Ypocras dit et enseigne / les raisons de femme baraigne / Auauant maudist tot sodomite / Ke femme laise a home habite . . .

Lit.: Green (1997), 89-90

*Secreta mulierum see Van heymeliken medicinen in vrouwen*

*Secreta mulierum (Trotula Eng3)* - a very literal Middle English translation of selected chapters from the *Trotula* ensemble; it duplicates precisely an abbreviated Latin version of the *Trotula* that likewise circulated under the title *Secreta mulierum*

Lit.: Green (1992), pp. 71-72; and Green (1997), pp. 86-87

*Secreta secretorum mulierum* - selections from Muscio's *Gynaecia* (q.v.) and other material; Muscio selections (ff. 154r-157v) concern solely obstetric procedure (cf. ed. Rose 76-81); followed by discussion of female anatomy and physiology, including development of fetus (ff. 157v-158v); brief remedies for pain after birth and milk production follow, then various diseases of women are listed; text closes with a diagram of astrological signs, distinguishing male signs from female

Inc.: Quot modi sunt uel cause quibus laboriosus partus efficitur . . .

MS: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS lat. qu. 373, ca. 1470, ff. 154r-159v

*De secretis mulierum (Trotula LV1)* - Latin verse reworking (with substantial elaborations) in dactylic hexameters of all three *Trotula* texts; probably composed in early or mid-13th cent.

Inc.: Incipit prologus libri de secretis mulierum. Principio rerum cum conditor orbis adiret / Humani generis primos plasmare parentes . . .

Ed.: Charles Daremberg, in Salvatore De Renzi, *Collectio Salernitana ossia documenti inediti, e trattati di medicina appartenenti alla scuola medica salernitana*, 5 vols. (Naples: Filiiatre-Sebezio, 1852-59; repr. Bologna: Forni, 1967), 4:1-38

Lit.: Green (1997), pp. 101-2

*Sefer Dinah le-khol `inyan ha-rehem ve-holayeha* ("Dinah's Book on All That Concerns the Womb and Its Sickneses") - translation into Judeo-Arabic (Arabic written in Hebrew characters) of Muscio's *Pessaria* (q.v.); probably translated in Spain

Inc.: [To make the menses flow. You should take two ounces each of active sulfur, opoponax, castoreum, . . .]

Ed./Trans.: Barkai (1998), pp. 97-108, from 1 known ms (with English trans.)

*Sefer ha-Em el Galinus hu ha-Niqra Gynias* ("The Book on the Womb by Galen, which is called *Gynaecias*") - Hebrew translation of *De passionibus mulierum B* (q.v.),<sup>20</sup> probably made between 1197 and 1199 by anonymous translator in southern France (cf. *Sefer ha-Toledet* and *Sefer ha-seter*)

Inc.: [It seems to me useful to write to you about the various ailments which occur frequently within the womb. . . .]

Ed./Trans.: Barkai (1998), pp. 145-180, from the two known mss, with a translation into English

*Sefer ha-herayon ve-ha-rehem le-Abuqrat* ("Hippocrates' Book on Pregnancy and the Womb") - a Hebrew translation (from the Arabic) of the Hippocratic *On Superfetation*

Lit.: Barkai (1998), pp. 53-55

*Sefer ha-seter* ("Book on the Hidden [Places]") (*Trotula Heb1*) - one of three gynecological texts translated into Hebrew between 1197 and 1199 by anonymous translator in southern France; perhaps to be identified with translation of Salernitan *Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum 3*

Inc. (acephalous): [ . . . weakness of the heart called *sinco-pin*. At times, because of this ailment, a contraction of the body occurs . . . ]<sup>21</sup>

Ed./Trans.: Barkai (1998), pp. 181-91

Lit.: Green (1997), pp. 98-99

*Sefer ha-Toledet* ("Book of Generation") - Hebrew translation of Muscio's *Gynaecia*, probably made between 1197 and 1199 by an anonymous translator in southern France; recast as dialogue between biblical Dinah and her father

<sup>20</sup> Regarding the occasional attribution of Latin *De passionibus mulierum B* to Galen, see Essay III in this collection, p. 301.

<sup>21</sup> This corresponds to ¶45 in my numeration of sections of the *Trotula*. See Essay V

**Inc.:** [When God created man from dust at the beginning of the world . . .]  
**Ed./Trans.:** Ron Barkai, *Les Infortunes de Dinah: le livre de la génération. La gynécologie juive au Moyen-Age*, trans. (into modern French) Michel Garel (Paris: Cerf, 1991); see also revised dating of the text in Barkai (1998), pp. 31-33

*Sefer yesirat ha-`ubar ve-hanhagat ha-harot ve-hanoladim* ("Book on the Creation of the Fetus and the Treatment of Pregnant Women and Babies")  
 - Hebrew translation of `Arib ibn Sa`id's work (q.v.)  
**Lit.:** Barkai (1998), pp. 43, 64

*Segrete cose delle donne* (Trotula Ital1) - 14th-cent. Florentine translation of gynecological chapters from intermediate *Trotula* ensemble, reorganized into 14 chapters; circulates with translation of cosmetic material from the *Trotula* entitled *Il Libro dello adornamento delle donne per che modo debbono fare belli i loro membri*

**Inc.:** Dio creatore di tutte le cose di questo mondo ordinò le nature . . .  
**Ed.:** Giuseppe Manuzzi and L. Razzolini, *Il Libro delle segrete cose delle donne* (Florence: Tipografia del Vocabolario, 1863 [recte post 1876])

**Lit.:** Green (1997), 100-101, listing 4 mss

**MSS:**<sup>22</sup> \*Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2175, s. xv, ff. 44r-45v, an excerpt from *Segrete cose* ("Come la donna si debba conservare quando ella è grossa e quando debba partorire"), and ff. 73r-74r (partial text of *Dell'adornamento*)

\*-----, -----, MS 2500 [S.III.49], s. xv, ff. 60r-64r (*Segrete cose*) and 65r-67r (*Dell'adornamento*)

Sheshet Benveniste, *Terufot le-herayon* ("Medicaments for Pregnancy", otherwise known as *Maguen ha-rosh*, "The Head's Shield") - remedies for various gynecological and obstetrical conditions, ostensibly composed by Sheshet, head of Jewish community of Barcelona in late 12th and early 13th cent.

**Inc.:** [*Medicament for Pregnancy Called the Head Shield. For pregnancy. A medicament for pregnancy has been prepared successfully by the Head of the community, our Rabbi Sheshet of blessed memory. . .*]

**Ed./Trans.:** Barkai (1998), pp. 192-211

*Si aliqua mulier non impregnetur* - gynecological receptary, perhaps from 12th-cent. Salerno; cites Macer, Hippocrates, Dioscorides, Apollodorus, and Galen's *Megategni*; employs Arabic pharmaceuticals including elixirs

**Inc.:** Si aliqua mulier non impregnetur propter malos humores, purgetur. Nichil ad hoc utilius quam theodoricon nostrum . . .

in this collection.

<sup>22</sup> Vis-à-vis the 4 mss listed in Green (1997), these two additional mss will be designated Italle and Ital1f, respectively. My thanks to Dr. Giovanna Lazzi of the Biblioteca Riccardiana for sending me information on these mss on very short notice.

**MS:** Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 1304, s. xiii<sup>1</sup>, ff. 69r-71v

*Si com Aristocete nous dit* (Trotula Fren4) - loose French translation of Salernitan *Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum* in octosyllabic verse; probably redacted in late 13th or early 14th cent.

**Inc.:** Si com Aristocete nous dit / En Alisaundre en son escrit . . .

**Lit.:** Green (1997), pp. 92-93

*Sieben Eklärungen zur weiblichen Sexualität und zur Reproduction* - German tract on female physiology and anatomy; concludes with several brief recipes for obstetrical and menstrual disorders

**Inc.:** Man sol verstan wenn das ist das ein junkfrow ein magt kompt zu sechzechen jaren envollen . . .

**Ed.:** Kruse (1996), pp. 268-71

Sigismund Gotzkircher (ca. 1410-1475) (?), *Regimen illustrissime domine Margarete Marchionisse de Brandenburgh pro generacione prolis etc* - Latin regimen prescribing foods, medicaments, baths, and sexual practices to aid conception; signs of conception are also included

**Inc.:** Utatur igitur prefata domina in sex rebus non naturalibus . . .

**Ed.:** Karl Sudhoff, "Ein Fruchtbarkeitsregimen für Margaretha, Markgräfin von Brandenburg aus der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts, und Verwandtes," *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 9 (1915-16), 356-58

*Signa conceptionis masculi vel femine*

**Inc.:** Primo masculinus movit post sex menses femella post quatuor . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 1106)

**MS:** \*Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 655, f. 179r

*De signa matricis quando in loco suo non est* - random early medieval collection of remedies, several of which correspond to material in the *Liber de muliebria* (q.v.)

**Inc.:** Dolor est sinistri lateris et ipso latere ascendit volvendo ad stomachem et inflationem facit et gutture aliquid non permittit . . .

**MSS:** Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 73, cod. 1, s. ix/x (Italy), ff. 177r-188rb

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 7028, s. xi (central Italy), ff. 159v-160r  
 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 6337, anno 1494 (Italy), ff. 79v-95v (an apograph of the Florence ms)

*Signa retencionis menstruorum* - anonymous 14th- or 15th-cent. compendium, probably made in England and drawing principally on John of Gaddesden, with citations from Avicenna, Isaac *Pantegni*, Hali Abbas *De regali dispositione*, Galen *De interioribus*, *Megategni*, and "domina Trotula"; for each disease it lists the symptoms and treatments, and often the prognostication; final two chapters are on *yctericia* and dropsy

**Inc.:** Signa retencionis menstruorum. Cause retencionis menstruorum a punctis (?) sunt ex

complexione oris venarum uel earum constipatione . . .  
MS: Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 164, s. xv in. (England), ff. 247r-259v

Soranus (?), *Ad mulieres postquam peperint* - apparently derivative of a Soranic work; addresses care of parturient after birth, choice of wetnurse, and care and feeding of newborn; same text also found (in modified form) within *De Genecia* (q.v.)

Inc.: Ad mulieres postquam peperint qualem habeant diligentiam. Oportet initium spungies maiores aqua tepida intincta . . .

MS: London, British Library, MS Harley 4977, s. xi (France?), ff. 117v-118r<sup>23</sup>

-----, *Liber ad Soteris obs[ist]etrix* - brief catechistic dialogue on obstetrical matters, ostensibly between Soranus and a midwife Soteris; clearly of late antique origin, though no further details of its genesis have been ascertained

Inc. (pref.): Soranus Soteris dixit obsetrici [sic] ad singula quaerenti ab eodem, id est de finis muliebri . . .; (text): Soteris dixit. Ruborem in facie permanentem aut subinde se infundentem . . .

Ed.: V. Rose, *Sorani Gynaeciorum vetus translatio latina*, pp. 131-39, from Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana-Medicea, Plut. 73, cod. 1, ff. 159ra-160vb

Lit.: Hanson & Green (1994), pp. 1047-49 and 1072 (listing 2 additional mss)

MS: \*Paris, Académie de Médecine, MS 469 (1348), s. xix copy of Florence, Bibl. Laur.-Med. Plut. 73, cod. 1

*Speyrer Frauenbüchlein* - 15th-cent. German compendium of gynecological and obstetrical recipes assembled by an anonymous male author; although headings appear to divide the text into six sections—on breasts, regimen during pregnancy, uterus, conception, impediments to conception, and menstruation—the contents are more random and general

Inc.: Ein ander capittel von der frauwen brüstel. Nün sollen wir sagen von den gebresten der frauwen brüstel . . .

Ed.: Roland Siegmund, "Das 'Speyrer Frauenbüchlein'", Med. Diss. (Würzburg, 1990), from Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Codex M III 3, ca. 1460 (Speyer or Heidelberg), ff. 217ra-229vb

### *De sterilitate*

Inc.: Cause sterilitatis ex parte medicorum sunt due. Prima . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 197)

MS: \*Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 655, ff. 178r-179v

### *De sterilitate*

Inc.: Nota quod sumptio sisileos quocumque modo semper partum accelerat . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 941)

<sup>23</sup> My thanks to Dr. Klaus-Dietrich Fischer of the Medizinhistorisches Institut der Johannes-Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, for bringing this text to my attention and recognizing its relationship to the *De genecia*. An edition is planned by Dr. Fischer.

MS: \*Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 5371, s. xv, ff. 126r-127r

### *Tabula muliebris*

Inc.: In primo reperate cum argilla et aceto . . .

MS: \*Graz, Zentralbibliothek der Wiener Franziskanerprovinz, Codex Fratrum Minorum Graecensis, s.n. (HMML project no. 7604), an. 1460, ff. 297v-301r

Theodorus Priscianus (North Africa, late 4th/early 5th cent.), *Gynaecia* - 10 chapters originally forming Book III (in some mss, Book IV) of Priscianus's *Euporiston*, it also circulated independently; based in part on Soranus's *Gynaikieia*

Inc. (pref.): Intellexisse te non minus nobis arbitror, Victoria [Salvina] artis meae dulce ministerium . . .; (text): Mamillas cum tensione tumentes vel dolentes, quod post partum . . .

Ed.: Valentin Rose, *Theodori Prisciani Euporiston libri III* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1894), pp. 224-48, based on 6 mss

Lit.: Hanson & Green (1994), pp. 1049, 1052, 1056-57 and 1074-75, listing 16 mss

Theodorus Priscianus (pseudo-), *Ad Octavium filium* - late antique collection of gynecological and obstetrical remedies in 13 capp., usually found appended to Theodorus' *Euporiston*

Inc. (pref.): In hoc vero loco cum cogitationibus vacarem, congregatis mecum aliis auctoribus . . .; (text): Sanguinem menstruaem provocat nitrum et farina munda . . .

Ed.: Rose, *Theodori Prisciani Euporiston*, pp. 340-54

MSS: Cambridge, St John's College, cod. D.4 [James 79], s. xii<sup>1</sup> (Italy), ff. 179r-180v

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 4234 (*olim* L 163), s. xiii, ff. 25r-28r

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 79, s. xiii<sup>1</sup> (England?), ff. 8r-9v

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chis. F.IV.57, s. xii, ff. 180r-189r

Thomas of Cantimpré (d. ca. 1270/72), *Liber de natura rerum* (Dutch) - obstetrical passages from his *Liber de natura rerum* (themselves drawn primarily from a modified version of Muscio's *Gynaecia*, the *Non omnes quidem*) here in a (15th-cent.?) Dutch translation<sup>24</sup>

Inc.: Als te spreken vander vrouwen wijsheide zo neemt voor tgoede tes schemelic maer en belcht hu niet ic sal hu wijzen ende leeren hoe ghi zult vroede vrouwe wezen zult . . .

MS: Lincoln, Cathedral Chapter Library (now housed at Nottingham University Library), MS 127, s. xv, ff. 71r-72v

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Thomas de Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*, ed. H. Boese, vol. 1 (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1973), Book I, cap. 76, p. 76. These excerpts are also found in a 14th-cent. French translation of pseudo-Albertus Magnus, *Secrès des dames*, and in the Dutch and Italian translations of the latter (see Essay VI in this volume, pp. 151 and 172-3). An excerpt from the Dutch verse text also circulated independently in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 19308; see Jansen-Sieben (1989), p. 261. Thomas presented these passages as the teachings of Cleopatra to her daughter because the *Non omnes quidem* often circulated with the *Gynaecia Cleopatrae* and was thought to be part of the same text.

*Tractatus de conceptione mulierum*

Inc.: Supra secundum amporismum: Mulieris; si vis scire, si concepit . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 1549)

MS: \*Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, MS Amplonian F 274, an. 1434, ff. 12v-13v

*Tractatus de egritudinibus mulierum see Trotula**Tractatus de egritudinibus mulierum*, Latin/English version (*Trotula* LP1) - Latin revision of Salernitan *TEM*, with frequent use of English terminology; extant in single acephalous 15th-cent. copy

Inc.: laborat et multum mouet per rationem non debet habere nimis multum fluxum sanguinis siue menstruorum . . .

Lit.: Green (1997), p. 101

*Tractatus de provocatione menstruarum*

Inc.: Menstruarum provocatum. Ventose due ponantur sub . . .

MS: \*San Candido, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS VIII C 4, s. xv, ff. 230r-231v

*Tractatus de sterilitate tam ex parte viri quam ex parte mulieris continens duos tractatus* - variously attributed to Arnau de Vilanova (q.v.), Raymundus de Moleriis (fl. 1335), Jordanus de Turre (fl. 1312-1335), and even 12th-cent. Salernitan author Maurus; Montero Cartelle makes a persuasive case that in all likelihood it is by none of these authors; in two sections, one on infertility on the part of the woman, the other on the part the male

Inc. (pref.): Sapientis verbum. Data est particularibus virtus generatiua vt perpetuetur inde indiuidui . . .; (tractatus primus): Impeditur autem generacio ex parte femine aliquando propter causas extrinsecas. aliquando propter causas intrinsecas. . . .; (tractatus secundus): Si vero nullum predictorum impedimentorum superveniat et mulier a conceptione impediatur . . .

Ed.: Enrique Montero Cartelle, *Tractatus de sterilitate: Anónimo de Montpellier (s. XIV). Attribuido a A. de Vilanova, R. de Moleris y J. de Turre*, Lingüística y Filología, no. 16 (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid and Caja Salamanca y Soria, 1993), listing 20 mss

MSS: \*Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1<sup>er</sup>, MS II.1413, a. 1411, ff. 143va-148ra

\*Darmstadt, Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, MS 405, s. xv ex., ff. 242r-249v

*Tractatus pulcherrimus de passionibus mamillarum* - Italian treatise on diseases of breasts (problems with production of milk, apostemes, tumors, ulcers, and fistulae); cites a plaster described by Guillelmus de Placentino in his *Practica*

Inc.: Nota prima che molte sono le passione de le mamelle de le done e diuerse le quale maximamente sono diminutione del lacte . . .

MSS: Boston (Massachusetts), Boston Medical Library, MS 38 (*olim* 21), s. xiv, ff. 76r-79v

\*Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Classis XIV, Medicina, cod. 24 chart., s. xv, ff. 19r-22r

*Un traictié de plusieurs maladies qui peuvent auenir aux femmes, et de leurs maladies secretes (Trotula Fren7)* - apparently a translation of the Salernitan *Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum*, this work (most of which has been lost) covered female anatomy, menstruation, conception, lactation, uterine suffocation, signs of conception, and the functions of the midwife

Inc.: Et premier, pour ce que lez femmez sont honteuses de prendre conseil et ellez decouvrir as hommes et as phisiciens de leurs maladies secretes . . .

Lit.: Green (1997), pp. 94-95

*Traktat über die Menstruation* - brief German tract on various menstrual disorders; although Kruse identifies this as an excerpt from the *Trotula*, the textual correspondences are in fact very slight

Inc.: Von den natürlischen frawen sichtagen oder wie er yn werd. In dißem capitell will ich nü sagen nach dem und als den schreybt der maister yn dem püche von der haymlikgait . . .

Ed.: Kruse (1996), pp. 373-78

*Traktat von Empfängnis und Geburt* - lays out 7 causes of infertility or miscarriage, followed by means to determine if the fetus is male, aids for difficult birth, and remedies for problems of the breasts

Inc.: Hie merk von naturis rerum der menschen werdung auf erden da von vindet mann in dem puch der schepffung . . .

Ed.: Kruse (1996), pp. 323-30

*Trota, De curis mulierum see Trotula**Trotula* - three 12th-cent. texts of Salernitan origin (*Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum*; *Trota, De curis mulierum*; and *De ornatu mulierum*); these circulated both independently and combined into an ensemble (the *Trotula*); translations/adaptations into Dutch (3 different versions), English (5), French (7), German (3), Hebrew, Irish, Italian (2), Latin prose, and Latin verse

Inc.: [Latin incipits vary--see Lit. below]

Ed.: Monica H. Green, *The 'Trotula': A Medieval Compendium of Women's Medicine* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming), an edition of the Latin standardized ensemble with English translation

Lit.: Monica H. Green, "The Development of the *Trotula*" (Essay IV in this volume); eadem, "A Handlist of the Latin and Vernacular Manuscripts of the So-Called *Trotula* Texts. Part I: The Latin Manuscripts," *Scriptorium* 50 (1996), 137-75, listing 122 Latin mss; Green (1997), listing 58 vernacular mss and 2 mss of Latin re-writings

Latin MSS:<sup>25</sup> 124. Basel, Öffentliche Universitätsbibliothek, MS D II 9, s. xiv, ff. 29ra-34va (standardized ensemble)

<sup>25</sup> In addition to the 122 Latin mss listed in Essay V here, see Green (1997), p. 104.

125. -----, -----, MS F II 19, s. xiii/xiv, ff. 172vb-174rb (*De ornatu mulierum* excerpted from the intermediate ensemble)
126. \*Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS El. q. 17, s. xiv<sup>1</sup> (Germany), ff. 52vb-59va (excerpts from the ensemble)<sup>26</sup>

*De urinis mulierum* - six-sentence text describing appearance of urine of, respectively, virgins, non-virgins, menstruating women, and women in first, second, third, and fourth months of pregnancy

Inc.: Puella uirgines faciunt urinam lucidam . . . (Erfurt & Sloane); Virginum urina est lucida et serena, corrupte mulieris est turbida et serena et sperma uiri in fundo uasis apparet . . . (Krivoklát); Urina mulieris concubite subturbida est et cum spermate hominis infundores . . . (St John's & Vienna)

MSS: Cambridge, St John's College, cod. D.4 [James 79], s. xii<sup>1</sup> (Italy), f. 170v  
Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, MS Amplonian Q 15, ca. 1352-54 (Cremona or Erfurt), f. 60v

Krivoklát, Biblioteca Castri Krivoklát, MS 144 (I d 61), s. xii, f. 48r

London, British Library, MS Sloane 1621, s. xii, f. 111r

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 2504, s. xiii med., f. 96r

*Ut mulier gravida mortuum infantem*

Inc.: Ut mulier gravida mortuum infantem sine dolore . . . (T-K<sup>2</sup> 1620)

MS: \*London, British Library, Sloane 431, s. xiii/xiv, f. 42rb

Vidal de Bourian, *Merqahat mo`il le-qabel ha-herayon be-shem ha-rofé Mae.*

*Vidal Debourian* ("A Useful Unguent for Conception, Attributed to the Physician Master Vidal de Bourian") - collection of 4 Hebrew remedies to promote fertility, attributed a 14th-cent. physician in Arles

Lit.: Barkai (1998), p. 82

*Wat menstrua is* - Dutch gynecological text

Inc.: Wat menstrua is. Want in de vrouwen sulcken hette nyet is dat zy de rouwe overtollige humeuren verteeren connen . . .

MS: \*Hattem, Gemeentearchief, MS 958, s. xvi, pp. 43-45

*Zikhron ha-Holayim ha-Hovim bi-Khlei ha-Herayon* ("A Record of the Diseases Occurring in the Genital Members") - Hebrew text in 2 parts, one on diseases of male organs, one on female; probably written in Christian Spain in latter half of 12th cent. or early in 13th

Inc.: [*The paucity of sperm and the disappearance of desire. The cause may be a particular ailment of the member or its bad temperament. . . .*]

Ed./Trans.: Barkai (1998), 109-44

---

for Latin ms 123: Nicosia (Enna), Biblioteca Comunale, MS 15.

<sup>26</sup> My thanks to Dr. Bernhard Tönnies of the Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Frankfurt am Main, for kindly bringing this manuscript to my attention.